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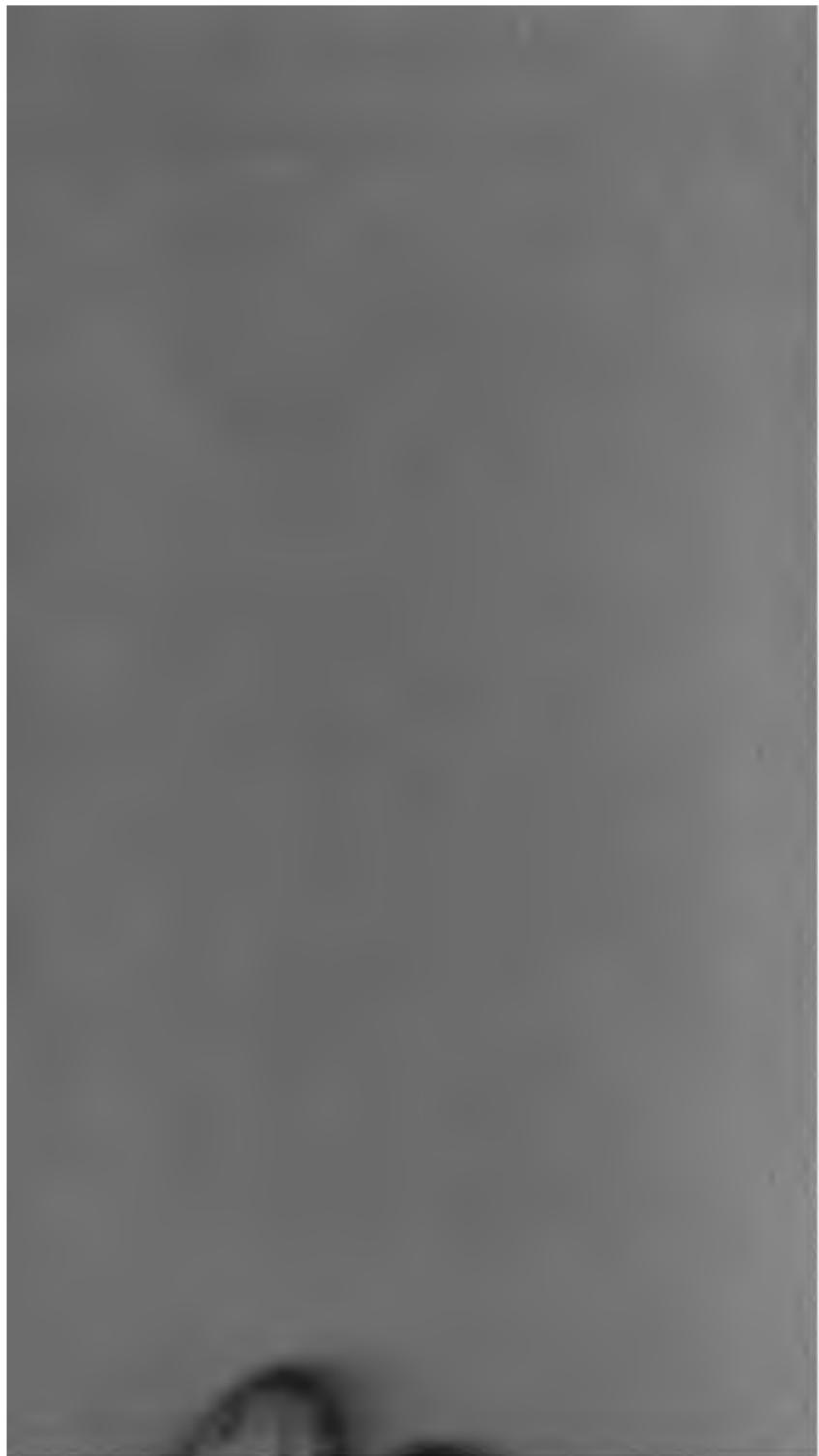
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THE
NATIONAL CONTROVERSY;
OR,

THE VOICE OF THE FATHERS

UPON THE
STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

By JOSEPH C. STILES.



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M DCCC LXI.



which decide the relative right or wrong of the parties —lie far back in the history of the country, and do not now exert their proper influence upon the public mind; while the heated state of popular feelings, for many years, upon our vexed question, has thrown up a false halo which invests with still deeper obscurity the true moral features of our national strife.

Touching the *influence* of this appeal, may I remind the reader, that adverse views will certainly bring up the sins of the South and the defences of the North at every step. Yet he should not deem me *unfair* because I do not give them a hearing. All I ask of him is this—let him look at the fact or argument before him, give it a just consideration, and judge whether he should not in candor renounce in whole or in part some objection to the conduct of the South, or concede in whole or in part the charged misconduct of the North. I cannot now promise to exhibit the same impartiality. My little book has already found its way into your hand. But this I will say—if the sentiment to which you object is unfounded—then may our Heavenly Father forgive the transgressor, nor permit his ignorance to damage you or any brother man on earth. If, however, that to which you object is truth and righteousness in the case—Oh, look at our beloved country! and unite in my prayer that these pages may be sent home to do their work in the hearts of all our countrymen.

THE NATIONAL CONTROVERSY.

OUR unhappy Country! Is there anything in the history of the past which may relieve the complications of the present? Is there no class of truths, no course of argument, which can bring the people to one mind, and restore the happy confidence of early years? The *capital wrong* may lie at the *South*, or it may be chargeable to the *North*. A southern man, by birth, sentiment, and sympathy, for our common country's sake, will not my northern brethren and countrymen, in all earnest heed, accept my invitation, and join me in the discussion of the *four* following propositions?

1. Were our northern fathers encouraged to expect that, within a short period after the formation of the constitution, slavery would disappear for ever?
2. Has the South transgressed her constitutional relations to the subject of slavery, and encroached upon the North?
3. Has not the North violated her constitutional obligations upon this subject, and encroached upon the South?
4. Where shall we find the *origin* and the *healing* of this unhappy strife?

I. *Were our fathers encouraged to "expect that within a short period, slavery would disappear for ever?"*

It is not contended that the South expressly stipulated in the constitution that slavery should be speedily abolished; but the grand aggravating element of almost

every modern charge is this: the history, principles, language, conduct, and condition, both of the North and of the South in that day, encouraged and measurably authorized "the fathers to expect that within a short period slavery would disappear for ever." We respectfully submit whether every argument advanced to establish this expectation of the fathers does not involve a contradiction of the averment, and rather prove the *enduring* than the *evanescent* condition of the institution in early days.

1. *The declining state of slavery in the times of the fathers.*—That the institution of slavery had long been dying out at the North is undeniable; but the very causes which worked decay at the North wrought invigoration at the South. The cold climate of the North, uncongenial to the African constitution of the negro, shortened his days, and diminished his strength and value; while the warm climate of the South, more suitable to his physical nature, proportionably augmented his powers, both of labor and of enjoyment. In like manner, it had been demonstrated that the commercial, manufactural, and skilful avocations of the North could extract but a profitless service from the contracted intellect of the negro, while the agricultural pursuits of the South found, in his remarkable physical endurance, even in a sultry climate, an exact provision for her simple culture of tobacco, indigo, and rice. Thus, that very intellectual and physical structure of the slave, which so naturally worked out his rapid disappearance from the North, must exert an equal power to secure his permanent value at the South.

2. *The anti-slavery spirit of the day.*—It cannot be denied that, during the debates which gave birth to our noble

constitution, anti-slavery principles were abundantly and vehemently avowed, both by northern and by southern men. Let it be remembered, that the grand struggle lay between the Northern and the Middle States on the one hand, and the extreme Southern States on the other. Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, on many points sympathized with the North—on one, certainly, their anti-slavery zeal was even more conspicuous.* But he undertakes an arduous task who sits down to build up the “expectation” of the fathers upon the foundation of the anti-slavery sentiments of the day. It is freely granted that Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Mason, Randolph, and other Representatives of the northern tier of Southern States, were all in language decided, and some of them violent, opponents of the institution of slavery. Surely they were most noble men. Their like earth rarely sees. God knows we should deeply honor them, but not for the *power* of their anti-slavery principles. One fact speaks volumes. If we mistake not, every man of them lived and died a slaveholder: Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Mason, Randolph, and probably every other prominent delegate from the South. We believe, moreover, that they all left their slaves in unlimited bondage, save Washington, who willed the liberty of his after the death of his widow. With entire respect, we are forced to inquire, what reason had our Southern fathers to expect that their principles would work the destruction of slavery in others, when they were too weak to abolish slaveholding in themselves? We repeat it—what right had any man of that day to expect that the principles of our Southern fathers would

* See Note A.

do at a distance, in the hands of their posterity, what they did not do at home, in their own hands?

Nor did the anti-slavery principles of our *Northern* fathers seem much more reliable. Franklin and Morris, Martin and Wilson, Lansing and Hamilton, Sherman and Elsworth, Gorham and Gerry, and a host of others, were noble and powerful men, well worthy of enrolment amongst the most distinguished and gallant patriots of the Revolution. But as *emancipationists*, they were entitled to no such praise. The Convention had well-nigh decided to limit the importation of slaves to the year 1800. General Pinckney, of South Carolina, moved to extend the privilege of importation to the year 1808. Where was the anti-slavery principle of our Northern fathers when this wide door of national slave-importation was thrown open? Massachusetts, by her delegate, seconded the motion; and though two slave States, Virginia and Delaware, voted against it, it is a fact that Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire voted unanimously in its favor, and carried the motion. Let it be remembered, that of all the Northern and Middle States, New Jersey and Pennsylvania were the only two who recorded a vote against the constitutional extension of the right of importation. Where, too, was the anti-slavery principle of our Northern fathers, when a motion was introduced to levy a tax of ten dollars a head upon every slave thus imported? 'Tis true they did deeply disrelish the proposition, and vainly endeavored to put a fair face upon the transaction; yet when it was thus proposed, to all intents and purposes, to enrol slaves amongst the taxable commodities of commerce, the records of the country incontestably declare that not

a single Northern vote was entered up against the constitutional provision. We ask now, what reason had our Northern fathers, or we, their sons, to expect that their anti-slavery principles would accomplish the rapid downfall of slavery in the country, when with one hand they themselves opened the door to the extensive introduction of slaves into the country, and with the other graded them as property on their arrival ?

The singular inefficiency of open opposition to slavery in the days of the fathers may find its secret partly in two things. First, it was temperate, not maddened. Had the *fanaticism* which, to a greater or less extent, imbues so large a portion of Northern mind in our day, equally affected anti-slavery men in the Constitutional Convention, they would have burst a world sooner than consent to be pent up and tied down as revolutionary anti-slavery was and is by the American Constitution. Again, anti-slavery was then political, not religious. The Honorable John Jay informs us, "that prior to the Revolution, the great body of our people had been so long accustomed to the practice and convenience of slavery, that very few of them ever doubted the propriety or rectitude of it!" Our Revolution, then, was the parent of the anti-slavery sentiments of the fathers. They had so much to say about natural rights, that they very naturally discovered a sort of incompatibility between the practice of slavery and the principles of the Revolution; nor can it be doubted that this sense of incompatibility was greatly quickened in all American minds at this time by Tom Paine's infidel but popular and powerful discussion of associated topics. But bear in mind, it was a sentiment just started up and sustained

by an excited glance at the political surface of things, and had yet taken no such hold of the mind as enabled it to overthrow the long entrenched lust of gain arrayed against it on every hand. Now the protection of natural rights is not the great work which the Scriptures assign to man on earth. Remember! not one syllable had God uttered to incite man to set a high value upon his right of property, or his right of character, or his right of liberty, or even his right of life. On the contrary, Salvation! Salvation! is the great order of the day. And if our Northern fathers had but been content to carry out the principle they so frequently and honorably avowed, that "the morality and wisdom of slavery are considerations belonging to the states themselves:" had they exercised the Christian sobriety to reflect, that if the villany of man had torn away the poor slave from his native country, the mercy of God had well supplied the home of his captivity with most valuable facilities for his social and spiritual redemption: and had they taught themselves to honor the Southern master for all that was worthy in the treatment of his protégé, congratulated him on his slave's improvement in character and condition, and kindly co-operated with him, to the extent of their ability, in all wise undertakings for the good of his slaves, the Christianity, the noble Christianity of the principle would have made its powerful mark both upon the bond and the free. But the anti-slavery of the fathers had neither the *bad* power of *fanaticism*, nor the *good* power of *Christianity*. In the Southern man it failed to do what it purposed to accomplish. And in the Northern man it came near to yielding to that which it was principled to resist.

Two things, therefore, are perfectly clear. On the one hand, the fathers had no reason to expect that their principles of opposition to slavery would work its speedy banishment from society; on the other, they had great reason to expect its sturdy endurance—for there must have resided somewhere in that institution a mighty power of self-preservation—since it did so long and so perfectly paralyse all the adverse efforts of the mightiest men of the nation, North and South.

3. *Language: pledges and predictions.*—It is contended that the language of the framers of the Constitution, uttered in their prolonged conventional debates, afford abundant testimony of a prevalent conviction in that day, that the institution of slavery was near its end; and moreover, that the half-way concessions of the South, and predictions of the North, contributed to warrant such a persuasion.

I apprehend that this is a great mistake. The records of the Constitutional Convention furnish two classes of utterances bearing upon this subject.

The first respects the abolition of the *slave trade*. The fraternal and powerful appeals of Northern brethren did sometimes, though very rarely, wring out from the extreme Southern delegate some such sympathetic response as the following—"If the Southern States were let alone, they will probably of themselves stop importation. He would himself, as a citizen of South Carolina, vote for it." (Charles Pinckney.) "If the States be all left at liberty on this subject, South Carolina may perhaps by degrees, do, of herself, what is wished, as Virginia and Maryland already have done." (C. C. Pinckney.) "Georgia, left to herself, may probably put a stop to the

evil." (Baldwin.) Langdon, of New Hampshire, ventured to extract some hope from the opinions expressed that "the Southern States left to themselves will cease to import slaves." Other Northern delegates reminded the convention of the suggestion of Southern members that "Carolina and Georgia were themselves disposed to get rid of the importation of slaves in a short time." But Northern members were not long left to a state of conjecture concerning Southern purpose upon this subject.

The very delegates from the South, who, under powerful appeals, had encouraged some little hope of the abatement of the slave trade, when they perceived that Northern members were relying upon their guarded suggestions, substantially recalled all they had declared, and affirmed their solemn conviction that they never could persuade their respective states "to adopt the constitution," if importation was forbidden: that "Carolina and Georgia must have slaves"—and that the rejection of the importing clause "was an exclusion of them from the Union." While other Southern delegates, yet more decided, abruptly exclaimed, that every expectation of the North upon this subject would be disappointed—"that the people of the South were not such fools as to give up so important an interest," &c. Nor was it long ere the Northern delegates themselves abandoned all hope of arresting the traffic. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, avowed his firm conviction "that the Southern States could not be members of the Union if the clause (importing) should be rejected." Gouverneur Morris, of the same State, after a long and gallant opposition, was "compelled to express his decided belief that the Southern States

would never confederate on terms that would deprive them of the slave trade." Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, counselled, that "it was better to let the States import slaves, if they made it a *sine quâ non*." Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut, "declared his willingness to take the clause as it is. Let every State import what it pleases. What enriches a part enriches the whole. Let us not intermeddle. This widening of opinions had a threatening aspect. If we do not agree on this moderate and middle ground, he was afraid we should lose two States—and have several confederations—and not without bloodshed." Such at large was the graceful yielding of the North before the unflinching demand of the South.

So exactly stood and struggled the parties, when *slavery* itself became the bone of contention. During the early part of the debate, a very few expressions were uttered—not by Southern, but by Northern delegates—indicating an opinion that slavery would decline. Sherman remarked that "the abolition of slavery is going on in the United States, and that the good sense of the several states would probably, by degrees, complete it." Ellsworth, his colleague, supposed that "as population increases, poor laborers will become so plenty as to render slaves useless. Slavery in time will not be a speck in our country." But the battle raged desperately on this main issue. On the one hand, the assailants pronounced the system of slavery "a nefarious institution"—"the curse of Heaven on the community where it prevailed"—"inconsistent with the principles of the revolution"—"dishonorable to American character"—"pernicious alike to morals and to manners"—"pre-

venting immigration of whites, the strength and riches of a country"—“in social development a desert and a wilderness beside the budding fields of freedom”—“in the state, a weakness and a burden through liability to insurrection, which the North is bound to suppress,” &c., &c. On the other hand the Southern delegates respond:—“That slavery is justified by the example of all the world, since in all ages half of mankind have been slaves”—“is a blessing to the subject, for it文明izes the savage and converts the pagan”—“to the whole Union, for the more slaves, the more the produce, and therefore the more employment for the carrying trade”—“the more consumption, and therefore the more revenue to the treasury of our common country.” “Slaves raise the value of lands”—“supply armies with food and clothing, and may become soldiers themselves.” “To us of Carolina and Georgia, slavery is as necessary as a home, in this latitude; for who else upon earth could cultivate rice and indigo in our sultry swamps?” “Entertaining such views, as free and independent states, we shall assuredly preserve our domestic institution.” On this point, as on the other, the North gave way before the unyielding adhesion of the South to the claims of her social organization.

Thus, candor compels us to conclude that so far as *language* is concerned, “the fathers” had no encouragement to expect that slavery would rapidly disappear. On the contrary, the strong *words of southern men* must have carried home deeply to the hearts of Northern delegates, the resolute, inflexible purpose of the South to maintain their ancient institution against all opposition.

4. *Conduct: relative, yielding, and controlling.*—There was nothing in the conduct of the parties, nothing in the practical issues of their deliberations, which justified the slightest expectation of “the fathers” that slavery was dying out in the land. On the contrary, the pro-slavery delegates carried their main points so perfectly, against such powerful odds, that, to the end of time, the spectator of the conflict in the published debates of the constitutional convention, will pronounce the Southern victory an inexplicable enigma, *apart from an enormous inherent power in the slavery of that day, which the fathers must have felt.*

The South held their slaves both as *persons* and as *property*, and insisted that the constitution of the country should distinctly recognise this *two-fold* claim. When they presented their *first* point, that slaves as *persons* should have a representation in the government,—the delegates of the Northern and Middle states were *outraged*. They substantially declared—“If you yourselves will first treat them *as men*, and give them the dignities of *freedom*, we will cheerfully welcome them to a participation in citizenship with our people and ourselves. But while you strip them of their humanity, and degrade them to a level with the brutes of your plantations, we cannot go back and tell our constituents that we have allowed you to go still further, and enrol your servile dependents in the same political category with themselves. They would not endure the revolting degradation, and we cannot, we will not do it.” The delegates of the South, in substance, reply:—“Slaves are our *wealth*, and wealth should be represented in the government instituted largely for its protection. Slaves

are *persons* dwelling in the country, and working for it, and if inferior in intelligence and influence, we do not demand for them an *equal* representation. They are our *fellow-men*, with rights of life, labor, and happiness to be guarded; *as such*, we expect the government to recognise them. Finally, we are sovereign and independent states; we must look to the vital interests of ourselves and our people; and if you nullify the half of our population, make our slaves a dead letter in the government of the country, and thus destroy the force of our social organization, we shall never belong to your Union." It was ultimately decided, after a hard struggle, that a clause should be inserted in the constitution, securing to slaves a "*three-fifths*" representation. (Art. 1, Sec. 2.) Let it be observed, too, that by the constitutional rule, "*direct*" taxation is of *persons*. Slaves, therefore, are treated a second time in the constitution as *persons*—by being subjected to a "*three-fifths direct* taxation." Thus there are four ways in which the constitution clearly establishes the *personality* of slaves: by its *census*, its *representation*, its *taxation* clauses, and by expressly speaking of them as "*other persons*."

When the second grand claim of the South was brought forward, that *slaves* should be recognised as *property*, the anti-slavery sentiment of the convention was still more deeply shocked. But a similar struggle ultimately led to a similar issue. It is true you do not find the word "*slave*" in the constitution; neither in the thirty pages of our chartered rights, do you find any such phrases as "*the nation*,"—"our *country*,"—"our *government*,"—"national *treasury*,"—"national *legislature*,"—"national *government*." The reason is this. Those who framed

that instrument well knew that they had a thousand conflicting interests to reconcile. They therefore resolved to employ no word or phrase which would give umbrage to any class or party in the country. Yet, as Luther Martin says, "they were willing to admit into their system *those things* which the *expression* signified." There were those in the country who loved the *Confederation*, and opposed "the formation of a *national* government." The convention accomplished the *work*, the formation of a *national* government, but avoided all offensive *language*. There were those, too, who abhorred *slavery*. The convention here in like manner avoided the *term*, but admitted the *thing* the term expressed.

You will find *property in man* clearly implied in the clause requiring the rendition of fugitives. (Art. 4, Sec. 2.) Fix your thought upon the operation. Form a conception, if you can, of the shadow of a reason for the restoration of the fugitive, apart from the fact that *the master has a right to control his servant*—has a *property* in his services. How clearly is the doctrine taught by the language of the first resolution passed upon this subject by the convention, August 27th. The closing words are these:—"shall be delivered up to the person *justly* claiming their service or labor." By the framers of the constitution, obviously the master has a *just* claim to his servant—a *property* in his services. When this section was put into the hands of the "committee of style and language"—mark! it comes out thus: "but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be *due*." Thus the constitution decides that the *services* of the *slave* are the *due* of his *master*. His master *owns* them—has a *property* in them. In like

manner, the imposition of a tax or duty on the imported slave, with equal clearness, establishes the constitutional doctrine of *slave-property*. "A tax, or duty, not exceeding ten dollars for each person." (Art. 1, Sec. 9.) How palpable is the constitutional recognition here. The slave is set down amongst *imports* and *taxed* as such. No wonder Roger Sherman "was opposed to a tax on slaves, as making the matter worse, because it implied they were *property*." When he repeated his objection the next day, Mr. Goram, Mass., attempted to put a better face upon the transaction, and "thought that Mr. Sherman should consider the duty not as implying that slaves are *property*, but as a *discouragement* to the importation of them." But Sherman honestly replied, that the *smallness* of the duty showed that *revenue* was the object, not the *discouragement* of the importation." A second attempt was made to break the force of its application to slaves, by considering the tax as equally extending to the "migration" of foreigners. But unfortunately, the very words of the constitution destroy the effort—for the word "migration" is dropped in the latter part of the clause, and the "tax" is "imposed" on such "importation" only. When this section was called up on Friday 24th, Mr. Livingston, of New York, offered an amendment allowing importation, but imposing a tax or duty in the words, "at a rate not exceeding the average of the duties laid on *imports*." Here certainly the language places slaves in the category of "*imports*," and of course adjudges them *property*. The next day Mr. Baldwin, in order to define more accurately the "average duty," moved to strike out the second part, the words—"average of the duty laid on *imports*"—

and insert "common impost on *articles* not enumerated." Thus the sentence would read, "a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, at a rate not exceeding the common imposts on *articles* not enumerated." As this motion was agreed to *nein. con.*, the entire mind of the convention, North and South, hereby enrolled slaves among "articles" of import, pronounced the tax upon them an "impost," and of course, stamped them as property, since they were "articles" "imported" under "impost." Sherman felt this truth forcibly, and objected a third time, "that this second part acknowledges *property in man*." *King* and *Langdon*, both northern men, very simply considered "the second part (the taxing) as the *price* of the first part (the importation)." Rufus King had previously "remarked on the *exemption of slaves* from *duty*, whilst every *other import* was subjected to it, as an *irregularity*, which could not fail to strike the *commercial sagacity* of the North." Whereupon Gen. Pinckney, adopting his language, moved "to commit the clause that slaves might be made liable to an equal tax with *other imports*," "admitting in the same connexion, that slaves might be 'dutied' like other imports." On the same day, Wilson objected, "as the section now stands, all *articles* imported are to be taxed, *slaves* alone *exempt*." This is, in fact, a bounty on *that article*.

So much for the testimony of the framers of the constitution, individually. As to the mind of the convention at large—Elias Boudinot, a member of the Continental Congress, in 1788, from New Jersey, "was well informed that the tax or duty of \$10 was provided *instead of the five per cent. ad valorem*, and was so *expressly understood* by *all parties* in the convention," that this tax was

deemed necessary, as “doing justice to all the States, and equalizing *duties* throughout the Union.” (Elliott, vol. iv. 215.) The conduct of government in demanding and receiving from the British throne a *pecuniary* compensation for slaves abducted in the Revolution, is her own *legislative* construction of the constitution; while the numerous express decisions of the Supreme Court—that slaves are property, is her *judicial* interpretation of it.

How clearly, variously, indisputably, does the constitution recognise the *slave-property* doctrine of the South. Slaves are to be “*delivered up*” as “*justly*” claimed, and “*due*” to the master: are to be taxed as “*imports*” and “*articles*” whose introduction should be subject to “*impost*,” and “*priced*” and “*dutied*” like other imports “*ad valorem*,” whose “*exemption*” from taxation might be complained of as an “*inequality*” which “*commercial*” sagacity will soon detect: and whose taxation was understood by the entire convention as doing universal “*justice*,” and “*equalizing duties*” throughout “*the Union*.” for whose abduction the government demanded restitution, *ad valorem*, and who have been pronounced “*property*,” and this without qualification, by the highest tribunal of the country, from the formation of the constitution to the present day. We put it now to every fellow citizen in the country, whatever be his principles or tastes, if the American constitution is to be interpreted by the established laws of construction, is he not bound in candor to concede that *that document* does *clearly* recognise *slaves* both as *persons* and as *property*?

What a strong impression of the *power of the principle of slavery* in that day must have been made upon the mind of “*the fathers*,” as they infixed, *seriatim*, the

unlimited extent of the Southern demands upon the face of the constitution! Governeur Morris at one time acknowledged the amazement and "*dilemma*" into which he was thrown by the stern impracticability of Southern adhesion to the slave-trade: at another, he was pressed back into a temper of *bitter petulance*, by the advancing demands of Southern guarantees, and indignantly exclaimed—why attempt any longer to blend "*incompatible things*." "Let us at once take a friendly leave of each other:" and finally, when he saw one Southern claim after another incorporated into the heart of the constitution, he sarcastically pronounced "*domestic slavery*" the most "*prominent feature* in the aristocratic countenance of the proposed constitution." Did not that man feel to the very centre of his soul, that come whence it might, be it what it may, surely there is a *living power* in the slavery of this day. Did not Rufus King feel the present and fear the future power of slavery? Counselling that they, the convention, should do justice to the South; he says, "he must be short-sighted, indeed, who does not foresee that when the Southern States should be more numerous than the Northern (did this man imagine that slavery would die out in a day?), they (the South) can and will hold a language that will awe us into justice! If they threaten to separate now, in case injury shall be done them, will their threats be less urgent or effectual when *force* shall back their demands? Even in the intervening period there will be no point of time, at which they will not be able to say—do us justice or we will separate!" Luther Martin seemed to be transported with mortification and rage when he called up before the Legislature of Maryland, the *inexplicable power*

which had been exercised over the convention by Southern men. He breaks out in the following strain—"This system of slavery, which *bound hand and foot ten States in the Union, and placed them at the mercy of the other three and under the most abject and servile subjection to them*, was approved by the majority of the members of the convention." Who doubts that that man and every other Northern man in the constitutional convention felt the *living power* of slavery in the days of "the fathers?"

The *conduct* of our constitutional fathers: what shall we think of it? What light does it throw upon the *debility* or the *strength*—upon the probable *disappearance* or *endurance* of the institution of slavery in early days? Southern men put down their programme bodily amongst the provisions of the constitution; and with a power that made Northern men stand amazed at the feebleness of their opposition. Surely the practical issues of the deliberations of our ancestors should have estopped "the fathers" from "expecting that within a short period slavery will disappear for ever;" and rather forced them to feel that that domestic institution of the South, which, at the disadvantage of three to ten, did bind hand and foot the strongest men of the nation, had more than a few days to live on the earth.

5. *Condition.—Relative state of the two sections, present and prospective.*—Beyond all question, at the time of the formation of the American Constitution, in all the elements of secular prosperity, the most flourishing section of the country was *the South*.

The South was the *wealthiest* portion of the country; and the fathers say so. The slaves of *Virginia* surpassed the entire population of the State of New York

by 50,000; and that of every other one of the Northern States, Massachusetts only excepted.

The exports of Carolina were near 600,000 pounds per annum. As to the State of Georgia, Roger Sherman concedes that her rapid growth justified the relatively larger allotment of representatives accorded to her in the first arrangement upon this, subject. Indeed, during the entire debate on representation Southern delegates claimed the superiority of the South in property, and Northern delegates acknowledged it. Gov. Morris agreed "that property ought to have its weight, but not all the weight. If *Southern States* are to supply the money, the Northern States are to spill the blood."

The peculiar property of the South, we should remember, too, was rapidly improving in those days. Oliver Elsworth testifies "that slaves multiply so fast in Virginia and Maryland that it was cheaper to raise them than import them." In like manner, the fresh and fertile lands of the extreme Southern States presented at this period a most inviting field of emigration. Col. Mason, a strong anti-slavery man, declared "that the Western people are calling out for slaves for their new lands, and will soon fill the country with them." Finally, ponder well this fact—labor paid better, and population increased faster at the *South* than at the *North*, and the *fathers say so*. Madison admitted that the population at the North, at that time, surpassed that of the South, but added, "population every day tended *towards an equilibrium*." He continued, "where labor yielded the most, the people would resort. Hence it is that people are *constantly swarming from the Northern and Middle parts of the United States to the Southern and Western*." Mason corroborates

Madison, observing that "as soon as the Southern and Western population should predominate, which *must happen in a few years*," etc. Gov. Morris testifies to a startling prediction of the day. "It has been said that *North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia* will, in a little time, *have a majority* of the people of America." Butler seemed better informed on the subject. He disclaimed the supposition that these three States would have more people than all the other States, but affirmed that they would have *many* more relatively to the Northern States than they now have. For, says he, "the *people and strength of America* are evidently bearing *Southwardly* and *South-Westwardly*." So well-founded and accredited was this claim of more rapid increase in population at the South, that Northern and Southern men were studying out and making ready for the results. Col. Mason, anticipating the early preponderance of the South, was anxious to arrange for the periodical taking of the census, lest when the *Southern States* should come "to have *three fourths of the population of America within their limits*, the *Northern* will hold fast to the present majority of the representatives." Governeur Morris inferred that the South must, in this case, "include the great *interior country*, and *everything was to be apprehended* from their *getting the power into their hands*." Wilson, on the contrary, more calm and thoughtful, conceiving that all men, wherever placed, have equal rights, and are equally entitled to confidence—viewed without apprehension the period when a few States should contain the superior number of people.

As for the North—intelligent, brave, enterprising, self-reliant, and destined to rise, yet for long years her busi-

ness broken up, her ships rotting, her people impoverished—so sad was her condition and her prospects at this time, that one of her delegates on the floor of the Convention declared that “the Northern and middle States will be *ruined*, if not enabled (by a navigation law) to defend themselves against foreign regulations.”

Thus, the Southern States were the most wealthy, and their property the most improving; they were spreading out their settlements to the West, and their fresh lands were calling aloud for emigrants; labor paid best at the South, and the people were swarming from the North to secure its profits; population was increasing faster at the South, and all anticipated its early predominance; power and influence were rapidly accumulating at the South, and far-seeing men began to apprehend the results of its change of hands.

The *condition* of the country in early days!—what shall we say of it? One word only. Surely it must have struck to death the very first rising of an expectation in the mind of any one of “the fathers,” that, within a short period, slavery will disappear for ever.

6. *The mental condition of the fathers.*—It is questionable whether the *anti-slavery virtue of the fathers* was *not too feeble to admit* of any such *conscious claims* upon the South, to sustain any such *expectations* of the *speedy abolition* of slavery.

Their ancestors had enacted, and carried out, probably the very darkest slave-code recorded in the history of a civilized people. Some of the States which the fathers represented, *justified slave-making* by statute.—Ancient Charters, Mass. ch. 12. Trumb. Col. Rec. 332. On their own soil they practised this slave-making; and not only

divided families, but sent Indian women and boys to the West Indies, and sold them for slaves.—Trumb. Conn., vol. i. 85. They imported the product of slave-labor, distilled the molasses into rum, exported the same to Africa, purchased slaves with the proceeds, transported them to the West Indies, and sold them in the market.—(Vide Archives Conn. Hartford.) By law they authorized every city, town, or manor, to appoint a *common whipper*, who should receive a salary, not to exceed three shillings per head for every slave whipped; and further authorized any person finding slaves at a certain distance from their homes, or out after nine o'clock at night—without a written passport—to inflict twenty lashes on each, and recover from the master by suit, reasonable compensation for his services.—(Laws of Conn., Mass. New York, New Jersey, &c.) They not only required the fugitive to be surrendered upon claim, and punished all who “harbored,” “secreted,” “entertained,” “aided,” or “tolerated” the “oppressed,” but laid their vengeance on every person who, knowing that a slave is, or *has been* entertained or secreted, *does not make it known*.—Laws Rhode Island, New York, &c. They discouraged emancipation in various forms—in one State inflicting a fine of \$300 a-piece for every slave brought into her territory to be freed.—Rhode Island, Mass., Conn. These historical facts are not brought up reproachfully, but simply as necessary to justice in the premises.

Such was the early face of slavery in the homes of “the fathers;” and though the system had long since been modified by milder legislation, yet unsuitable as slave-labor had ever been in northern latitudes, and consequently unreasonable as was the perpetuation of slavery

there, except on purely benevolent principles, they testify upon the floor of the Convention, that they themselves were, in general, slaveholders still—only one State having emancipated her slaves, and one more arranged to follow her example. Nor let it be forgotten, that they themselves, at that very time, had just opened a national door to the importation of slaves, for the space of twenty years.

That our northern fathers were men of exalted talents, patriotism, and worth, it is our pride and our glory to concede. That in perfect consistency with all virtue, they might have cherished the *desire* that their southern brethren would adopt such a course in the premises as they themselves deemed all-important to the welfare of the country, we readily acknowledge. But this point we respectfully submit. Is it consistent with the laws of a good conscience, with the workings of truth and virtue in the human soul, that our northern fathers, and those they represented, with such a past history and present position in the premises, should expect from their southern neighbors, as a species of duty to the North, the early abolition of slavery? Remember—it was an institution which the South had never carried to the same excess; an institution which, with so little inducement to retain, they themselves had not yet abandoned: nay! an institution which they themselves had recently and greatly augmented and encouraged. I say now—involved in such unhappy complications, would it not have been pure phariseeism in our northern fathers to entertain any such expectation? And would not modesty and rectitude, on their part, have positively incapacitated them to cherish any such sense of southern obligation?

Apart from the words of the Constitution, you perceive there was nothing, in the whole condition of things, to justify, but everything to nullify the alleged expectation of the fathers.

6. *The great official act of the fathers.*—Did not the fathers themselves *bury deep in the Constitution* all northern right to expect the speedy abolition of slavery by the South? Consider—

1. *The Attitude of the Parties.*—The manner in which the opposing sections of the country came together to form a common government, is vividly exhibited in the debates of the convention. They had common ties, but conflicting interests. The North expected to live by her *ships*; the South by her *slaves*. The North was deeply revolted by the slave-claims of the South; and the South as deeply purposed that their rejection should work her exclusion from the union. An agricultural people, the South required *free-trade*, because it would secure *low freights*. While the North, a commercial population, required a navigation act, because a prohibition upon foreign bottoms would operate a premium upon Northern ships. In a word—if the North and the South formed a copartnership, Northern sentiments must concede to Southern institutions; and Southern exports must be taxed for Northern commerce. Just here it was that the North and the South were brought to a *dead-lock*. Just around these conflicting points were laid down the foundations of our government. And precisely to this conflict and compromise must we ever come back for all just interpretation of the Constitution of the country. The Eastern states declared through their representatives—“we have but *one motive* to Union—and that is

commerce," without a navigation act, we "are ruined." The Southern states respond—we have no motive to Union if slavery is not protected; and a navigation law would destroy its profits. Thus "the two grand divisions of Northern and Southern interests," as they were styled, stood diametrically opposed to each other, not less in the purposes of the parties, than in the nature of things. Good reason had Pierce Butler to declare, "the interests of the North and the South were as far apart as those of Russia and Turkey." What was to be done? Consider.

2. *The Compromise Effected*.—“Government, to be lasting, must be founded in the confidence and affection of the people.” The convention felt the necessity of mutual accommodation, and appointed a committee of conference and compromise comprising one member from each state. Specially, the fourth, fifth, and sixth sections of Art. Seventh, were referred to them; and generally in the language of Governeur Morris—“*the whole subject*” of their differences. On the side of the *South* were committed the claims of her domestic institution and her opposition to commercial restrictions. On the side of the *North* her opposition to the slave-claims of the South, and her desire for commercial regulations.

Governeur Morris stated the object of the committee in these words—“that *these things* (these sectional differences) may form a **BARGAIN** among the Northern and Southern states.” Madison subsequently alluding to the transaction, styled it “*an understanding* on the two subjects of navigation and slavery between the two parts of the Union.” Concerning the action of the committee, Luther Martin, a prominent member, writes thus: “I found the Eastern states, notwithstanding their aversion

to slavery, willing to indulge the Southern states, &c., provided the Southern states would gratify them by laying no restriction on navigation acts." Through the mercy of God the parties conferred, agreed, and thus removed all obstacles to the formation of a National Union. When the agreement, in detail, was carried out in the stipulations of the Constitution, the South had *surrendered* two things—her claim to indefinite importation was restricted to a term of twenty years, and her protection against navigation acts was reduced from the *two-thirds* vote recommended by "the Committee of Detail" to the vote of a *majority*. But she secured her great desideratum, her slave claims, person and property representation, taxation, &c. The North surrendered her public opposition to the domestic institution of the South, and secured for so doing a limitation of the right of importation, and what was of far greater importance to her, all necessary commercial advantages. Consider:

3. *The Work Done.*—The North surrendered, at once and for ever, all political right and philosophical reason to *expect* that the South would speedily abolish or deprecate her institution of slavery. After such a wheeling to the right-about in the new ground assumed, with what face could "the fathers" either *require* or *expect* that slavery should speedily disappear? If any power on earth could have perpetuated slavery, that very power they themselves emphatically employed. If any act of man could have destroyed his right to expect the rapid disappearance of slavery, that very act they themselves performed. Bear in mind, they themselves had just *entrenched* slavery in the Constitution, and built up all the bulwarks of the government round about her every

strong point. Say! If *strangers set up* slavery, do they thereby authorize their own expectation that *masters would throw it down*? If *opponents honored and preserved* slavery, could they thereby *expect* its *advocates* to disown it and destroy it. Aye! They had made the Constitution itself open the door of the whole country to an illimitable introduction of slaves for the space of twenty years—a period, in the estimation of Mr. Madison, long enough to insure all the mischiefs of interminable importation. If Northern men so extensively augmented and built up slavery, could they thereby acquire a right to expect that Southern men would diminish and abolish it?

What shall we say now of that historical statement which has been so industriously and indignantly bandied about amongst the people for years past to the perpetuation of incalculable injury to the character of the South, and the peace of the country? What shall we think of Senator Seward's censorious dictum*—that—The fathers expected that slavery, within a short period, would disappear for ever?" We answer: All history and reason pronounce it a declaration *perfectly preposterous*! Was not slavery dying out at the north? Yes! But the very power which diminished it at the north developed it at the south. Did not a great anti-slavery wave flow over the country at the close of the revolutionary war? Yes! But it was a principle which did not do its work in southern men, and could not hold its ground in northern men, and seemed to find its principal mission in proclaiming the power of that *assaulted institution*, before which it broke down so emphatically in the debates of the convention. Were there no words of predicted relaxations in time to

* Speeches, *passim*.

come? Yes! a very feeble conjecture of some possible depreciation in a mere accident of slavery. But even that feeble note was soon drowned by the loud counter-protestations of a host of hearts purposed to yield nothing, but stand by their institution to the very last. Was nothing done towards breaking the power of slavery, and arresting its progress in time to come? Yes! The prosecution of a contingent operation of slavery was reduced from an unlimited to a definite period. But slavery established all her main positions, and by such an overthrow of mighty powers arrayed against her as must have charged many an adverse mind with the strongest expectation of her vigorous future. But were there no signs of decay in the declining hope of the master and the stagnant condition of the country? Precisely the reverse! Of all sections of the Union the south was then the most flourishing and the most hopeful. Besides! tell me how that heart, whose ancestor had oppressed the slave as the southern man never did, which, at this very moment, is still holding on to the slave after the last good reason in his own mind for his detention has departed—which, in opposition to southern votes, opened the door for twenty years to an African influx, whose multiplied descendants may this day make up more than half of the slaves of the nation—Tell me, I say, how such a heart can cherish a contemporaneous claim upon the south to the speedy abandonment of her institution. But, above all, tell me how can that heart which has just now *constitutionalized* slavery—has just now thrown around it all the protections, and shed upon it all the countenance of the government, and given it all the force and power which mortal

man can convey—tell me, I say, *how, how can such a heart hold a rational or an honest expectation* that the southern man, through some insinuated pledges to the north, will speedily set himself to the work of dismissing slavery from the land ! In all the history of the times, in all the reason of things, in all the obligations of virtue, where can you find one solid inch of ground in the mind of the fathers to hold up their alleged “*expectation?*” Surely not in the covetous nature of man, not in the consistent abolitionism of the expectants, not in the concessory pledges of the defendants, not in the practical results of the Convention, not in the more flourishing prospects of the southern people, not in the covenant to hand up southern slavery to the platform of the constitution upon the proviso that she will consent to shake hands there with northern commerce.

II. Has the south transgressed her constitutional relations to the subject of slavery and encroached upon the north ? What were the relations of the south to slavery as established by the founders of the government.

Be it remembered : Not one word of disownment of the essential principles of the institution is recorded in the constitution of the country. Not one word of pledge has the south ever uttered, either that she would not uphold slavery through all time, or that she would surrender one of its principles, or abandon therefor one of the immunities of the government, or that she would diminish its force in the future, or consent to its confinement within specified limits. On the contrary, the decisive fact is this: barring the limitation of the slave-trade, the national compact expressly recognised all the

principles, practices, and claims of slavery which were represented in the convention by the delegates of the planting States.

Behold the programme bodily imbedded in the heart of the constitution. For all time to come, and for all the territory and population of the earth, now belonging to the great American Union, or that "may be included" within her dominions hereafter, there stands the great constitutional status of all national enumeration, representation, and taxation, there it stands—mark! embracing the "*three-fifths of all other persons!*" When these slaves fly from the service of the master, while this government exists, there stands the constitutional guarantee that on any foot of the nation's soil to which he may have escaped, on claim of that master, to whom the constitution says his services are justly due—the fugitive "shall be delivered up." When these slaves rise in revolt against the master, while this government has a name on earth, there stands the constitutional guarantee, that Congress shall stretch out her strong arm in defence of the master, and in suppression of the insurgents. Thus, in the very clearest and strongest language, the constitution guarantees to the South all maintenance and carrying out of the principles and practices of slavery, to which she had been accustomed before the formation of the Union.

The very feeblest statement, therefore, of the true slavery position of the South, we take to be this: By constitutional enactment, the South is entitled to *all such tolerance and countenance on the subject of slavery, both in language and in conduct, as shall afford her a reasonable opportunity of securing the profits of the institution, without being scandalized for its practice.*

We hold that the provisions of the constitution, fairly interpreted, furnish ample proof of this definition.

The *nature* of the guarantees supports it. When they built up all the bulwarks of the constitution around every principle and practice of slavery, what did the fathers mean? Surely to fortify to the South all the ordinary customs of slavery, without insult or encroachment, while the government stands. He who grants a privilege conveys all that is necessary to the reasonable enjoyment of that which is granted. The North guarantees Slavery to the South. If now she defames Slavery, will not arrest the abstraction of slaves, and even obstructs the rendition of slaves, just so far she takes back what she had granted, diminishes the benefits and comforts of the relation, and breaks her guarantees. Again, if, on the one hand, the North sincerely deems slavery a state of society whose impiety, impolicy, and outrage should be publicly exposed on all occasions, then she makes herself *particeps criminis* by her guarantee of toleration; but if, on the other, slavery, under the circumstances, might be justifiably tolerated, then she lies under every obligation to secure to the slaveholder—what constitutional language so obviously implies—a comfortable, unobstructed prosecution of his guaranteed custom of society. If any man still denies that the *nature* of the guarantees demands a practical and respectful toleration of the institution, let him compare the warring attitudes of the North, first in framing, and then in interpreting the constitution. Standing up to *form* the constitution, the Northern man says to his Southern neighbor, "Yes! we will concede all you require. On the one hand, your slaves shall enjoy all the *dignities* you

would have conferred upon them. Like other men of the country, they shall be counted in the national *census*, constitute *subjects of direct taxation*, and be represented in all the dignities and authorities of the country. Nor, on the other hand, will we refuse to exact from them all the *degradation* you yourselves have been pleased to prescribe. When they come from Africa, as you say, they shall be 'articles'—'taxed,' 'dutied,' and 'priced,' like all 'other imports.' When they fly from your service, cost the nation what it may, from any foot of her soil—by her military arm, if necessary—they shall be delivered up to him to whom his service is 'justly' 'due.' Should any man dispute your right of service, our courts shall stand by the constitution, and pronounce the slave the property of his master. And finally, should that slave ever venture to rise up against you, the strong arm of the nation shall shoot him down at your feet, but he shall be subdued to your just dominion. Yes! all this will we do. Come, now! let us shake hands in an honorable, fraternal national covenant." The compact is made. But the moment the Northern man comes to officiate as *interpreter*, his construction destroys his contract! How changed his language and tone! "Now that we have constitutionally anchored you in the Union, you must allow us to say, we hate your institution, and can never fraternize with you fully until you abandon it. We claim unrestrained liberty to denounce and disgrace it on every hand; nor shall we ever cease our obloquy and opposition until we degrade and drive it from the free soil of our country." Our sketch is boldly drawn, we acknowledge; but we need hardly say, that any such construction of our national constitution as warrants

either an *abusive* or an *obstructive* intermeddling with the subject of slavery, is a palpable destruction of its face and force. Clearly, protection of the principles and customs of slavery in language obliges to the protection of the principles and habits of slavery in practice. Where is the consistency of that man who says, "I will solemnly authorize you to hold man in slavery, but I will habitually castigate you for the rascality of the deed. By all the power of the nation, judicial and military, I will assuredly return to you your flying slave; but I will spit upon the baseness that demands the rendition?" We hold, therefore, that the guarantees of the constitution, in themselves considered, demand of the North that she secure to the South such a peaceful carrying out of her peculiar state of society as shall never be disturbed, either by provoking defamation or practical interruption.

2. The *origin* of the guarantees fully corroborates the definition laid down. At the close of the Revolutionary war, when the South set out to meet the North to form a national government, she was in a great strait. The *North* would *put down* slavery. The *South* must *uphold* slavery. Her character, peace, honor, power, prosperity, business, and home, were all inseparably identified with her institution. A man had almost as well covenant to tear out and surrender a bone of his body, or a faculty of his mind, as the South agree to surrender or disparage her inherited social organization, or constitutionalize such treatment of it by others. She travelled to the Convention every way compelled and resolved to have the rights of her institution written out in full in the Magna Charta of the country, or return to her home as independent as she left it. Nor did the

North and the South confer many days before the North became perfectly convinced, that the South, in *position* could not, and in *temper* would not, yield on the subject of slavery. As the only term of union, the South demanded that she should be allowed to transact her own affairs in her own way; and since her ways of slavery were not ways of pleasantness to the North, she distinctly demanded all constitutional protection in carrying out her social views and customs as she had done from time immemorial. Now, let it be remembered, it was in consideration of this demand of the South, that the North, after mature deliberation, subscribed the slavery guarantees of the constitution. Most certainly, then, the North intended to give what the South required, as the *sine qua non* of her confederation. These constitutional guarantees, therefore, which in terms convey every right of slavery to parties interested, and which in history were subscribed in view of a resolute, inflexible demand of all reasonable protection, most certainly do secure to the South, while the government stands, *a constitutional right to prosecute her system of domestic slavery without defamation, intermeddling, or obstruction on the part of the North.*

3. The object of the guarantees confirms our definition of the rights of the South. The North and the South had set out to form a harmonious national family; to construct a peaceful, happy, and prosperous Union of the two sections of the country. The object of confederation decides the conduct of the parties. Whatever contributed to accomplish this object was right and covenanted; whatever exerted an opposite influence was wrong and covenanted against. Now these slavery

guarantees were granted expressly to carry out this fraternal co-existence of the parties. They were deliberately framed and subscribed to prevent all dissatisfaction and collision; and to promote mutual respect and friendly co-operation. In view of the special object of all the slavery clauses of the Constitution, therefore, the South was and is entitled to a peaceful, respectful, and profitable prosecution of her inherited social customs; and the North was, and is proportionably bound to abstain from all such courses of language and conduct as were calculated to disturb the peace, destroy the respect, or obstruct the profits of her institution.

We are forced to conclude, therefore, that the *language* of the constitutional guarantees, the *demand* they were framed to meet, and the *object* for which they were subscribed, incontestably establish two facts. First. By the Constitution of the United States of America, the South has secured to her while the government stands, a national right to hold slaves, and of course to buy, sell, employ, transport, and universally manage them as she had ever been accustomed to do. While, by the same Constitution, the North has deliberately surrendered all right, while the government stands, to dishonor, and provoke, or confine the South by any sort of intermeddling with her institution.

Has the South ever stepped beyond this broad, well-guarded Constitutional platform of Southern rights? It is said that she has. Her attempt *to take her slaves into the Territories* is pronounced an encroachment upon Northern rights. But wherein lies the trespass?

1. Were not the Territories equally won by the prowess or purchased by the treasure of the South? If

you deny the Southern man's right to carry his slaves with him into the Territories, you *destroy his Constitutional property*. *For the use of the owner*—is the primary idea of property, and that use you obstruct.

2. The explicit *language of the Constitutional guarantees* sustains this general view, and settles the question. The Constitution has distinctly settled the rule of apportionment *for representatives and direct taxes*—in two relations. First, for the states already included in the Union. The Constitutional rule of apportionment for these, requires that you add “to the whites,” “three-fifths of all other persons.” Mark! The act of the Constitution is this: in the *States*—it presupposes the existence of slavery, and secures to slavery a share in the privileges and burdens of the government. But this is not all. The Constitution goes out to every inch of the boundaries of the present states. It looks over into the Territories and upon the people all around. It is familiar with the idea of “new States.” It expects their annexation, and makes a rule of apportionment touching representation, not only for the states now included, but also for those states which “*may be included*” hereafter. What is that rule? The Constitution determines that on admission, they, too, shall be allowed, in connexion with the whites, a “*three-fifths* representation *for all other persons*,” i. e. *for their slaves*.

Now, he who says there shall be no more slave states, exactly crushes out the Constitution. For the Constitution says to adjacent territories, “In the present condition of the population of the world, it is quite possible that you may have slaves or choose to have them; should it be that you so have or choose, our provision for the

contingency is this:—when you come into the Union, *your slaves*, like those of the present states, shall have “*a three fifths*” representation in the government. Thus, it is undeniable, that the great Constitutional rule for the apportionment of the privileges and burdens of the government, presupposes, we repeat, *presupposes*, that slavery *may inhabit the Territories*, which *are to be annexed as states*. He, therefore, who says “True! There may be slaves in the Territories in *fact*, and if not, slaves are certainly in the Territories *by Constitutional admission*; but it matters not, *you shall not take your slaves there* ;” palpably, that man sets himself above the Constitution, and stamps himself the encroaching party.

3. The constitutional provision of Art. 1, quoted above, in a large sense, *nationalizes* slavery. The “three-fifths representation and taxation of all other persons,” is not a grant or guarantee limited to the South. It is just as applicable to the North as to the South. Every Northern and Middle State in the Union may avail itself, this day, of this universal provision of our national standard. State sovereignty, it is true, may reject slavery at will; but if slavery does not obtain in every State in the Union, it is not because our constitution has not laid down a basis for slavery and its claims, as large as the country—the whole country over which it flings its authority. Where now is the consistency of the Northern territorial doctrine? The constitution has spread out a foundation for slavery throughout all her States, but *denied it* to all her *territories*. Why should she do this? If slavery is an evil, why is it not an evil in the States? If slavery may be allowed in the States, why not in the territories? Besides, where the consti-

tution makes rules, it makes them for all under its authority. And where is the first constitutional word *excepting* the *territories* from the great broad rule of the constitution?

4. Wisdom and the wise stand by our interpretation of the constitution. James Madison, discoursing upon the introduction of new States, remarks: "I am clear and firm in opinion that *no unfavorable distinctions* are admissible in point of justice and policy," and adds, that "the Western States neither would nor ought to submit to a union which degraded them from an equality with other States." "The best policy," says Col. Mason, "is to treat them with that equality which will make them friends and not enemies." Shut out, now, the South from the territories. Express to them your operation. "You people of the South are not upon an equality with us. You mix yourselves up with things which should not be admitted in a well-regulated community. We cannot allow you to come into the common territory of the country with your slaves." Those "*unfavorable distinctions*" which Madison says are inadmissible violations both of policy and of justice, and ought not to be submitted to, observe, if you please, the Northern doctrine does not practise upon territories seeking admission into the Union, though this were bad enough; but perpetrates upon five of the old thirteen States. It puts them in coventry, and says, "stand by, we are holier than you." How inadmissible, how impracticable are all such invurious distinctions in a family of free States! Distraction unto dissolution, must ever follow degradation from political equality. We affirm, therefore, that the necessary fruits of the Northern territorial doctrine establish its heretical parentage.

5. Consult the contracting mind of the North and of the South when forming the constitution. The Southern men, though slaveholders, respected themselves, and were deeply purposed to be respected by others or have no union with them. Suppose our Northern doctrine had burst into the mind of the fathers, and found nerve enough there to address the Southern delegates in the following language. "So long as you keep at home with your slaves, we will endure you. But in all coming time, when our boundaries shall be enlarged, and fresh lands shall throw open their fertile bosom to our people and invite their occupancy, and stir up a mighty emigrant spirit in the country, upon this common soil of the nation, which you have equally contributed to acquire, we shall never allow you to trespass with your miserable institution. Its barbarous cruelties, immoralities, and insufferable dishonor, we cannot away with! You may come in person, but you shall never enter our national territories with your slaves." Had this doctrine been declared on that day, in terms ever so decorous and kind, I need say, there never had been our *United States of America*. No! never! The entire spirit, principles, language, and conduct of the Southern delegates throughout the five months of constitutional discussion, emphatically evince this. Let one indication of their determined protection of their institution and intolerance of Northern intermeddling suffice. When James Madison read his resolution in the convention, proposing a method of altering the constitution, and Alexander Hamilton seconded it, *Rulledge*, of South Carolina, sprang to his feet and said: "I never can agree to give a power, by which the articles relating to slaves might be altered by

the States not interested in that property, but prejudiced against it." What an unreasonable resistance! The power that made the constitution shall have no power to alter it to the damage of slavery! How firmly and fiercely those men stood by their principles! They would not trust Southern interests in Northern hands, though protected by a national constitution—if that constitution had not the virtue of the legislation of the Medes and Persians. It was indeed a very bold demand. But the fathers had passed through too many conflicts. Well they knew there could be no union, if they did not deal quietly and wisely with the temper and position of these men. Mr. Madison, on calling to mind the great interest of the South in exports and importation at that time, very ingeniously proposed an amendment, *yielding* to the objection for twenty years, by stipulating that the fourth and fifth sections of Art. 7, embracing these and other points, should not be alterable before 1808, by any power. The convention passed the amendment *nem. con.*, and the objector was appeased.

If any man would learn the genius of the American constitution, and the character and position of its Southern framers, he should never forget one cardinal interpreting fact. The South felt that she had no motive for union but generous appreciation of Northern fellowship and aid in the Revolutionary war. Their interests were all adverse to union, in their honest judgment. They must bring their slaves with them: it was their life. This, they knew, would revolt the North, and work ceaseless chafing. They must favor Northern commerce: this, they knew, would just so far diminish the profits of slave labor. They

frequently declared to their Northern brethren, "*independent*, we can now sustain ourselves, *united*, we gain nothing but risk all." *There*, exactly, lay the secret of their power. They felt that *they did not seek union*, and deeply determined that they would not peril their vital rights to secure it. No man can read the Madison papers and fail to be convinced, first, that nothing could have induced the Northern delegates to propose the present Northern territorial doctrine in the convention; and second, if they had proposed and persistently pressed it, our present national government would never have been formed.

That our national territories are as open to the South as to the North is undeniable. Strong popular prejudice, however, disqualifies us to sit in impartial judgment upon the great modern question—Whether the Southern man may not take his slaves with him when he seeks a home in the territories of the country? And yet, in defiance of all prejudice, the considerations advanced, which we now repeat, would seem to place the matter beyond a question. 1. On the one hand every man has a right to carry his property wherever he takes his person; on the other, without one syllable of limitation, the constitution pronounces slaves to be property, not only by the force of the plainest words, but by the most significant disposition of them. 2. In the essential structure of its leading principles, the constitution presupposes the existence of slaveholding territories, and would hardly forbid a slave to *go* where it supposes a slave to *be*. 3. Having laid a broad basis for the claims of slavery throughout all our American States, the constitution could hardly have intended to deny such a basis to all our American territories. 4.

If disparaging distinctions, an American statesman, discussing the constitution, pronounces so unjust, unwise, and insufferable, that even *Territories* should not submit to them, he would hardly consider them admissible amongst confederate *States*. 5. The sensitive and resolute stand of the Southern man to secure all rights and reject all indignities in defence of slavery, could hardly have brooked the censorious exclusion of slavery from the equal enjoyment of *common national property*. Surely the South would sooner have parted with the Union and kept unsullied her honor and her ancient institution, than parted with her constitutional rights in the territories and her honor, and kept nothing but the name of Union and the mockeries of it. 6. Let all these considerations be deemed invalid, yet the *decision of the Supreme Court* settles the question.

National territories are obtained by purchase, gift, and arms. That the South paid her part in all territorial acquisition will not be denied. When the pulse of the North beats more generously they will find some apology for Southern sensitiveness on this subject by a strict comparison of her own gift of square miles to the government, and amount of military service winning territory, with the territorial donations and blood-shedding of the South.

If the South perpetrated no encroachment upon the North when she preferred an *equal claim to common property*, where shall we look for the encroachments of the South? Verily encroachments upon the North seem not a little like a myth in the brain of a demagogue. The *vox populi* it is which secures his personal re-election and the success of his party. These

are all he lives for. It is his very life therefore to know, study, and practise whatever creates a sensation, tells upon personal or party issues, gives or breaks a blow—in a word carries the people. That the glaring antagonism of the North, in the political world, would raise the cry of Southern encroachment, was almost as certain as that the constitution of things in the material world will lift the sun every morning. But why should the South encroach upon the North? What has she to gain by the effort? What has she to encourage the attempt? The public sentiment of the world is against her! The predominant power of the North is against her! The very constitution of things will fling in her face Northern soil, Northern climate, and Northern experiment. By past agitation, galled almost beyond endurance, what can make her so ready to provoke heavier persecutions? No, indeed! Take the slavery of the South as it was when Southern delegates travelled North to make a constitution for the country; take that very condition of slavery as it was then and there without stint, stereotyped in the constitution, and go now, not to politicians, or the press, or the party spirit of the day, but in some time of calmness, go down amongst the planters of the South, and visit the great body of the people at their firesides, and sound them as to their views and feelings, and those of their fathers, on all this subject, and, my word for it, you will come back perfectly convinced that there has scarce been a day since Southern men signed the constitution, when the great body of the Southern people would not have been content in the Union, if the North had but secured to the slaveholder that ordinary social respect, and those

political and private rights conceded to him in the constitution. To deny that there have been occasions in the history of the country when the South claimed too much, and trespassed upon the rights of the North, is to deny their humanity. Justice, however, requires us to acknowledge that, in general, such transgressions did not find their origin in the spirit and principle of the people so much as in the schemes and arts of politicians.

On the whole, let a candid man inform himself in the premises, and duly weigh—1. The peaceful object of confederation, and thence Southern right to kind treatment; 2. The preliminary requirement of the South, involving Southern demand of respectful treatment; 3. The constitutional guarantees subscribed to meet it, carrying a Northern pledge of courteous treatment; 4. The fact that these guarantees are weakened by no concessions to Northern fathers—in connexion with the further fact of an apparent absence of all strong inducements to such trespass; and he will be prepared to believe that the South, in her general course of procedure from the days of the Revolution, cannot be justly charged with overstepping the constitutional bounds of slavery to invade the rights of the North.

We submit it now to the fair-minded, honorable man, if our Northern fathers never received the shadow of a pledge from the South that slavery should be speedily abolished, then we, their sons, should not be quick to charge her with the spirit of encroachment simply because, in our day, Southern men stand strongly upon their constitutional guarantees, which they must do to live.

Let us go farther, and throw out of our hearts all that provocation of temper we, the sons, have suffered ourselves both to cherish and to diffuse, by acting upon the principle that the South in this day is both retaining and enlarging objectionable foundations, which she had long since promised to abandon.

And finally, let us welcome the sentiment, that since we have so deeply wronged her conduct in the past, we are more bound to right her principles in the future.

In reference to the argument closed, and that I am about to commence, and indeed to all I have said, or shall say, I wish to be understood as desiring to do ample justice and honor to the principles and motives of a great body of my brethren and countrymen, who feel that, for many excellent reasons, the system of slavery should be discouraged. But the point to which I would hold the consciences of these friends is this:—If you cannot accomplish your purpose save by countenancing the modern system of *abuse and hindrance*, is not your conduct *immoral*? Do you not sanction the palpable infraction of a solemn covenant?

III. Has not the North violated her constitutional obligations upon this subject, by encroaching upon the South?

What are the constitutional relations of the North to the subject of slavery?

We have seen that the constitutional convention nationalized southern slavery. I know that this is offensive language to many persons. I would disturb no man; but truth and justice require a candid examination of the position assumed. If the convention did not nationalize slavery, how came Gouverneur Morris to

say that "domestic slavery is the most prominent feature of the aristocratic countenance of the proposed constitution." If not, how came Luther Martin to complain, "This system of slavery, which bound hand and foot ten states of the Union, and placed them under the most abject and servile subjection, was approved by a majority of the members of the convention." Let me hasten to explain. I do not say that slavery was nationalized in any such sense as to compel any man to become or remain, a slaveholder; nor that state sovereignty may not admit or exclude it, at pleasure; nor that every man may not entertain any opinion of the institution he pleases. But the constitution has nationalized the institution of slavery in these two important respects: every man in the country, so far as the constitution is concerned, may hold slaves if he pleases; and every slaveholder has the government of the country both to secure and to enforce all its recorded immunities and liabilities.

In view of this undeniable fact, the constitutional relations of the North to the South may be stated thus: The North covenanted, by all the sanctions of the constitution, that they and their posterity, while the government stands, would never harass, dishonor, or obstruct the South in the reasonable maintenance and enjoyment of that domestic institution which makes up so large a part of Southern society.

This position has been substantially discussed, and we trust sustained in view of the *language*, the *origin*, and the *object* of the constitutional stipulations upon the subject. If corroboration is required, we shall find it by changing our line of investigation from *generals* to *particulars*. The South sought protection. The North con-

ceded guarantees—guarantees, protection—of what ? Clearly of all that needed and sought protection in the circumstances. Clearly then the South required, and the North granted, protection of those *great natural rights* which the South felt must be greatly exposed by an intimate union with the North.

Nations, as well as individuals, have a *right of character*—a right to be considered to be what they are. By nature all mankind feel this right—and the value of it, both to their power and their peace. The South did not disrespect herself on account of her connexion with slavery; yet for this very connexion she knew the North would be strongly tempted to depreciate her. Whatever, therefore, might be the private opinions of her northern neighbors, she demanded of the North a demonstration of respect which should protect her character against all such public wholesale defamation as would destroy her reputation, peace, self-respect, and influence in the Union. It is utterly preposterous to imagine for an instant that the South would have accepted the northern guarantees, had it been announced at the time that they should constitute no protection against that flood of vilifying speeches, paragraphs, and epithets poured out upon her, through a multitude of northern channels, during the last twenty years.

Every nation, as well as person, is entitled to *civil treatment*. Self-respect in all humanity feels this right, and understands perfectly how much power in the world and comfort in life depend upon its preservation. The South well knew that her claims to ordinary courtesy would be greatly exposed by close confederation with the North. Nor did she consent to the proposed union

until she considered her claims to common civility protected by the articles of the Constitution. How utterly preposterous is the thought, that the South, with all her quick, high-strung sensibility, would have entered into the union, had it been published at the time that the provisions of the Constitution were not designed to protect her feelings from all the scandal and abuse—all the scoffs and taunts which have been so lavishly showered upon her from the North for many long years.

Every nation, too, has its *right of property*. This the South well knew she must protect, and sought to do so. But there had been no union of these States, if the South in early days had been thus addressed:—"It shall be deemed no impeachment of the constitutional integrity of the North, if she stands by for a long course of years, and does nothing to arrest the outrage, while ~~she~~ is divested of tens of millions of ~~southern~~ moneys by the adverse agency of northern men, private and organized, and often published and boasted; no impeachment of her constitutional integrity, though there should spring up in the bosom of northern population a wide-spread and violent prejudice against the constitutional rendition of the fugitive, and northern legislation give it countenance.

Finally, nations have a *right of happiness*; and who will contend that there has been a faithful protection of the guaranteed rights of the South on this head, when he reflects how deeply her peace has been disturbed by unkind, unceasing assaults upon her reputation, her feelings, her property, and all her foundations of comfort and prosperity?

Can a reasonable man pretend to deny that the South

sought and the North granted constitutional protection of her great natural rights? If the great personal rights of the South were *not* shielded by the guarantees of the Constitution, of what use were they? If they were not framed and proffered for this purpose, how came the South to accept them? If, on the contrary, they did cover the great natural rights of the South, and were framed and offered for this express purpose, then the North covenanted, by all the sacred authorities of the Constitution of the country, that they and those who should represent them through the following generations, while the government stands, would see to it that the South should not be harassed, dishonored, or obstructed while legitimately sustaining the institution of her fathers, but that her valuable rights of character, courtesy, property, and happiness, should be duly guaranteed under the wing of the Union. Is not this argument irrefragably sealed by that great principle of interpretation pertinent to all language, and especially to that of contracts, viz.—that words are to be interpreted as bearing *the sense* in which the speaker knows that the party addressed understands them. Did not the North know that by her constitutional guarantees, the South would expect from her an honorable and a peaceable union, although she brought her institution of slavery with her?

An embarrassing question springs up here. The North, we contend, is bound to protect the character of the South. But the North may sincerely believe that there are many serious evils connected with this Southern institution. Has she now surrendered all her rights of judgment and speech in the premises?

Certainly not. Where then shall we draw the line of discrimination between the duties and the rights of the Northern man under the guarantees of the constitution?

On the one hand, we are free to say, that the rights of private judgment and free speech are so undeniable and inestimable that, rather than submit to the mischiefs of their permanent invasion amongst men, far better sacrifice forthwith the noblest nation earth ever saw. We hold therefore, if any man conceives that slavery is sin against God, or a political mischief, or involving personal and social degradation, &c., he has a perfect right to entertain such views; a perfect right to express them to his fellow-men; a perfect right, by all decorous, earnest, and protracted discussion, to convince him of their truth, and if possible bring him to adopt them. Yes, indeed! A more sacred, vital, and inalienable right—human nature never received from the hand of God. But on the other hand, the moment a Northern man goes beyond fair argument and decorous persuasion on the subject of slavery, and commences any form of uncourteous address, censorious charges, belligerent agitation, or irritating conduct, that moment he not only departs from the rules of ordinary decorum, but violates the great sectional compact, and exerts a power deliberately surrendered in the constitution. Evidently all such conduct has a tendency to irritate and alienate Southern men, and thus break the national union. It is therefore a style of procedure from which the Northern man, by the object of confederation, stands pledged to abstain. Evidently all such conduct is a departure from that spirit of civility and forbearance,

on the subject of slavery, for which the Southern man substantially stipulated, and which the Northern man substantially agreed to exercise. It is consequently conduct in violation of his solemn covenant in the constitution. In a word, since the objects of our national union never could be accomplished, if one party were interminably exposed to the harassing and degrading assaults of the other, therefore beyond the civil utterance of truth—whatever in feeling, language, or conduct brought to bear upon the relation of slavery is calculated to inflame the Southern man, and disaffect him towards the North, and stir up the Northern man and disaffect him towards the South, is a breach of the great covenant of union. Clearly, therefore, all malignant, contemptuous, and hostile feelings; all wounding, provoking, and defamatory language; all depreciating, scandalizing, and injurious publications; all speeches delivered, parties organized, and papers published purposely to invalidate, unsettle, and overthrow the Southern institution; all public and private denials of the constitutional claims of the South; all political declarations that slavery has no reliable guarantees in the constitution and must be abolished; all administration of the government with a view to undermine and eradicate slavery; all popular prejudice and state legislation that obstructs the enforcement of recorded rights; all underhanded attempts to disaffect the slave at home, and all organizations and efforts public or private to bear the fugitive beyond the reach of recovery; all attempts to stir up insurrection by incendiary publications, secret conspiracy, or open invasion—all, all such agencies, and all justifications or apologies for the same, are a

palpable breach of faith, a provoking denial of the great American sectional compact. Who questions the immorality of such conduct? That it tends to break up that harmony of the national family we had engaged to promote, all must see. That it works this mischief by dishonorable abandonment of constitutional obligations, none can doubt.

Thus that the guarantees obliged the North by language and conduct to practise all such tolerance on the subject of slavery as would tend to secure to the South reasonable enjoyment of her natural rights, in order to a quiet, honorable, and happy fraternity in the Union—is established by the following considerations: 1. All such toleration was demanded by the South as a *condition precedent* to ~~the~~ confederation, and granted as such. 2. All such toleration is so emphatically *embraced in the provisions* of the constitution, that they mean nothing without it. 3. All such toleration is indispensable to the preservation of the union formed.

If we were allowed to express the compact on the part of our Northern fathers we should employ substantially such language as the following: "We covenant—not that we surrender those opinions on the subject of slavery which we brought with us to the convention, but that we will practise all respectful tolerance of yours: not that we shall adopt your customs upon the subject of slavery, but that you shall not be molested in the support of them during the entire period of our confederation: not that we will honor or promote your institution, but that beyond the language and influence of courteous suasion we will not suffer it to be dishonored or opposed in any such

manner as shall wound, irritate, or alienate your feelings, or molest and imperil our happy union.

If this is the just interpretation of the great laws of the constitution on the point of Northern and Southern differences, it is no difficult matter to decide which party has adhered most closely to its constitutional obligations on the subject of slavery.

We do not believe, as we have contended above, that the South can be fairly charged with any *general* spirit or habit of disobedience to her constitutional duties. But has the North kept *her* covenant? Has she maintained her integrity in carrying out her constitutional engagements on this unhappy subject? Has she always or prevailingly spoken and acted with such considerate, *conscientious* moderation and forbearance in the premises as to give the South no ground of complaint? Has she said and done nothing calculated to disaffect Southern men and break up their honorable and happy co-operation in the Union? Go and listen to any Republican speech on the floor of Congress. Go and read any issue of the Republican press from one end of the country to the other. Go and attend any Republican meetings, and give heed to their words and spirit touching slavery and the South. Open your ears to the conversations of men on the highways and at their firesides. In a word, gather up from every outlet of popular temper, from every exhibition of the spirit of the people, the beatings of the public heart at the North upon the subject of our sectional relations. Far be it from any man to charge every utterance of every member of the dominant party with intolerant hostility to Southern institutions—far be it from us to deny that

many an American, while standing in the ranks of those who are opposed to the social institutions and political claims of the South, has yet manifested a generous and high-souled appreciation of the character, condition, and constitutional rights of the Southern section of our common country. But who is he, so destitute of intelligence and candor as to aver that the every-day national exhibitions of the mind of the nation bear no testimony to him of a wide-spread and bitter anti-slavery spirit, every way well calculated to provoke, dis-honor, and disunite the Southern branch of the national family? The truth is, there is no need of specification upon this subject, for it must be obvious to every candid mind that by every natural development, the North has been making perpetual aggressions upon the constitutional rights of the South, and lately with a recklessness which seems to have utterly forgotten that all this severe anti-slavery tone and movement in our day is a palpable infraction of the very compact which lies at the foundation of the American Union.

Let no man suppose that this antagonistic element in Northern population is either limited or feeble. Study its two great fountains of supply. *Self-styled Abolitionism!* Its organizations and its organs may be found in almost every portion north of the Potomac, and beyond a question have been steadily augmenting in number and power for the quarter of a century. In 1840, Abolitionism changed its field—the Church for the State—and set up a *political* in the place of a *religious* operation. The American Anti-slavery Society was divided at that time. Those who retained the name—from centres of influence, such as Boston, New York,

Pennsylvania, and Ohio, instead of struggling to introduce the community into their organizations, rather labored to impress themselves upon the community, employing for this purpose journals, agents, advocates, conventions, lectures, tracts, &c. The measure of the power and growth of Abolitionists, therefore, is to be learned rather from the growth and power of their principles in the community at large, than from any appreciable catalogue of the body.

Judge its progress from its impression upon the political world. That portion which seceded from the parent society in 1840, threw themselves fully upon the political arena, and started the so-called *Liberty Party*. In 1840, they voted 7,000; in 1844, 64,000; in 1848, about 100,000; in 1852, 150,000; and in 1860 elected Lincoln.

Judge its progress by its impression upon the religious world. The American Missionary Association seceded from the American Foreign and Home Missionary Society, some fifteen years ago, because of their silence upon the subject of slavery, and are supposed in general to be immediate emancipationists. They made their first report in 1847. They had received but a small sum, and assisted but four Home Missionaries. In 1852, they raised \$30,000, and aided about sixty Missionaries. In 1854, they collected \$50,000, and assisted near one hundred Missionaries. In 1860, they report \$64,000, and near one hundred and fifty Missionaries.

'Tis true you cannot measure Abolitionism accurately by any or all of these standards; yet Abolitionism lies at the foundation, and has been the moving power in

these and other growing bodies, political and religious; and it is fair to infer from their steady, rapid growth in numbers and power, the steady growth of the Abolition principle during the last twenty years.

As to the temper of these fellow-citizens, with what a demoniacal hate do they curse the Constitution and its guarantees, and practically expel Southern men from all possible affiliation with themselves! What a divisive virus do they perpetually and resolutely radiate through all the population of this latitude! The second fountain-head is *strong anti-slavery* or *rank Republicanism*. Its advocates strenuously disclaim the designation of *Abolitionists*, but seldom fail to prove their consanguinity by answering when *Abolitionists* are called, and defending when *Abolitionists* are assailed. This class of Northern population is far more numerous and influential. It must be admitted, too, that like the *Abolitionists*, they do breathe out a public and virulent hostility to slavery, by all their doctrines, deliverances, and measures, which practically expels the Southern man, if not from all possible, yet from all comfortable political fellowship. Through all their well-arranged and efficient organizations, journals, and public and personal habits, as from a mighty magazine, what a countless multitude and diversity of hostile missiles are constantly showered upon the South! The circulation of the most powerful and mischievous *political* anti-slavery journal amounts to something like one hundred thousand daily and two hundred thousand weekly copies. If each paper goes to a family, and each family consists of five persons, then this sheet, too often spiced with a rich assortment of anti-Southern

arguments and flings, to a greater or less extent reaches more than a million of Northern minds every week. The most powerful and mischievous *religious* anti-slavery journal has a subscription of near seventy thousand—a circulation far outstripping that of any religious paper of milder sentiments in the country—and of late more rapidly increasing than ever. If these two stand at the head of the catalogue, what a multitude of subordinate journals are perpetually running through all parts of the North, publishing evil tidings of the South! Oh, let all our countrymen dwelling this side the Potomac, ponder this fact. The North has an appetite that demands, devours, and digests this perpetual and prodigious flood of the very bitterest anti-Southern aliment. Tell me, now, which party is it that encroaches upon the other? Where are all the solemn constitutional guarantees of the Southern institution? How can the North fulfil her covenant to embrace the South in honorable union, while vigorously training herself to kick the South out of all endurance?

The growing power of anti-slavery sentiment is further manifested in its numerous secessions, in late years, from the old foundations of Christian union. Time was when Presbyterians and Congregationalists, as a band of brethren, conducted all their missionary operations in concert. But Anti-slavery forced off a strong minority, who, for several years, have managed Home and Foreign Missions upon their own principles. Until recently, the same brethren could toil side by side in the *Tract* cause; but here, too, Anti-slavery has split the body, and thrown a gulph between the parts. Once Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and New-

School Presbyterians, could all march together under their respective denominational banners; but in late years Anti-slavery has ruptured them all. Christian union is *powerful* union: and that agent that can step through the land and *sunder* all sorts of the most venerable *Christian* families, cannot be *feeble*. It should certainly enhance our conviction of the power of extreme anti-slavery principles at the North, that the *sacred pulpit*, and *exalted political statesmanship*, the two strongest citadels of political rectitude, the two last bulwarks against national dissolution, have long been *giving way* before the resistless energy of this desolating fanaticism. Alas! the pulpit! Would you form some conception of the divisive poison which it has spread through the land, reflect how many of its commissioned occupants have already reached the bitterest extremity of intolerance, and have revealed the fact by avowing their determined purpose to part *with the Bible* sooner than obey the constitution, and affiliate with the South. When the appointed expounders of the *book of the church*, in such numbers are content to lead the van in this crusade against the South—the country's last hope for the preservation of political fraternity must rest upon *eminent statesmen* of every party stripe. These are the men to whom in times of trouble the country must ever look for sound expositions of the *book of the state*; the men whom she expects to come to her help, and make a stand against the profane violation of that early sectional covenant which composes the corner-stone of the government. But here, too, the patriot's last hope has failed him. Those fundamental guarantees, upon

which, in an eventful hour, our venerable ancestors built the constitution of the country, and the Union of the States—where, oh, where are they now? If our constitutional fathers could arise from their graves and look over the history of their beloved country for the last twenty years, what grief would bow them down as they surveyed the progress of the irrepressible conflict; the manifold encroachments of the North upon the constitutional prerogatives of the South! But what amazement and horror would seize them as they pondered the *responses* returned by the *President Elect and his Premier*, the acknowledged leaders of the dominant party, to their own anxious interrogatories concerning the present fearful condition of the country. Our fathers well knew that they had secured to the South, indisputably, the peaceful enjoyment of their Southern institution by all the sanctities of the constitution they had framed. Yet, when they inquire of the now head-men of the nation,—“What is the object of your party?” The answer is: “The party of freedom seek complete and universal emancipation.” (Seward’s Cleaveland Speech.) The fathers well knew their constitutional decree in the event of an escape—that the combined power of the nation should rise up and remand the bond-man to the control of his master, and *this*, that the rights of the slaveholder, by Northern compact, to the unobstructed service of his every slave might be untouched before the eyes of the world. Yet, when our fathers inquire further: “What is the work of your party?” The response comes back—“*Slavery can be, and it must be abolished, and you and I must do it.*” (*Ibid.*) Finally, when the fathers inquire—

“What are the *plans* of your party?” The answer returns in the triumphant shout of the leader to his partisans: By these measures you “shall soon bring the parties of the country into an effective aggression upon slavery. *If this is too slow—then go faster if you can, and I will go with you.*”* (*Ibid.*) But we will not enlarge, nor need we do so. Call to mind that early day when Southern men, under the shelter of the constitution, travelled constantly through the country with their family and servants, and were welcomed by all the North, save, perhaps, here and there a solitary Quaker, and compare it with the present condition of Northern society—and who so ignorant or uncandid as to deny that while the South, in general, has maintained her fidelity to *her* sectional stipulations in the constitution, there has sprung up in late years a powerful adverse sentiment at the North, which, powerfully organized, perpetually and provokingly encroaches upon rights which the constitution secures, and undermines an institution which the constitution overshadows.

Let it not be said that your condemnations are too sweeping. You breathe an unkind, a reproving spirit upon the whole North. He that does this is a great transgressor. Thank God! A very large body of the people would this day do justice to the South, if her rights in the constitution were brought fairly and fully before them. Besides the very many who have ever

* We are very happy to observe Mr. Seward’s recent indisposition to carry out his extreme views. The unhappy condition of things in the country, in part, is surely the legitimate result of his earlier doctrines. May his future conservatism counteract the radicalism of the past.

stood up nobly in her defence, not a few of those who are numbered amongst opponents to her policy are yet very far from being oppressors of her principles. God grant that all the large remains of mutual respect and kindness, North and South, may be preserved and developed. God grant that a kind heart and a good spirit may spring up, and be cherished here and there, and the country and the world be summoned to praise that most benign interposition of God, which shall heal our breaches, and reunite our warring sections by a warmer, closer, firmer bond than made us one people in the past. But if these earnest longings of many hearts are ever realized, we must fix our eyes upon one fact. We must assure ourselves that there is an adverse spirit in the land ; that this fierce spirit it is which has principally wrought our disorganization ; and that obligation is upon us, and we must bestir ourselves to win it to our views, if we can, or overturn its strongholds, if we must.

Let it not be said that the South would rob men of the rights of private judgment and free speech. May we not retort the charge, and say, It is not the South, but the North herself, who imposed the prohibition. A man may do what he will with his own. It was the North that deliberately covenanted, for consideration received, that she would never make such use of her personal rights as must damage the interests and disturb the peace of her neighbors.

Let it not be said that the South demands impracticabilities of the North. For how is it possible that a great, intelligent, intrepid, and free people, in this free age, when national shackles are falling off in every

land, should be gagged, and forbidden to express their abhorrence of a barbarous relic, which in the heart of the freest nation under heaven, is bolstered up to frown upon all the liberties of the earth ? May we not retort the charge, and say, The responsibility of providing the Southern man a peaceful, honorable participation in the Union—remember, *slavery to the contrary notwithstanding*—the North herself, with her eyes open, deliberately assumed. If now she provokes, disaffects, and alienates Southern men, or allows it to be done, her contract is broken, and she alone is responsible.

Let it not be said, “ But we insist upon it, you expect an impossible performance at our hand. Who can put a bit upon the mouth of man in this free country ? In the United States of America, who can rule down the very sheets of liberty—the daily journals of the country—to a definite tone of respect and courtesy, upon the most exciting, irritating subject under heaven ? The winds and the rains that purge the heavens and fertilize the earth can be chained up to *no* such precision as shall covenant against occasional storms and floods ; so the spirit of liberty cannot be ruled down to an inviolable tenor of decorous phrase, especially when discussing the most flagrant outrages of freedom itself. My friend, you deceive yourself. The only inability in the case lies in the *lack of a heart true to covenant*. Public sentiment is the dominant power among a free people. Let the North stand up honestly to her constitutional covenant ; let one neighbor, under a sense of its obligation, check the violence of another ; let the man who has been compelled to

read in his daily, a week's unbridled vituperation of the South, say to the editor—Sir, we are under a solemn covenant of toleration on this subject, and if you do not stop your abuse of our countrymen, I shall stop my paper. Let him who hears a bitter tirade from a politician, accustomed to pay such compliments to Southern institutions, hear it said on every hand—The man who has no better sense of national obligation than this, cannot represent me in the councils of the nation. In a word, just cherish a heart which feels, that when our fathers, for benefits received, shook hands with the South, and pledged a courteous treatment of her peculiar institution, they enforced upon their posterity a solid obligation, which dies with the government, and not before. Yes! only let the North stand honestly to her contract, and our sectional controversy instantly comes to an end.

But when it becomes something like the settled state of society at the North—that the tongue in private and in public is frequently heard in violent denunciation of the South—that the press daily issues paragraphs and columns of the bitterest scorn and contempt of the South—that more than a million of money, largely through the decoying encouragements of the North, is annually abstracted from the South—that regions of country rise up in violent opposition to the constitutional rendition of fugitives from the South—that a dozen states pass laws palpably tributary to this faithless prejudice against the South—that incendiary hand-bills are freely scattered over the plantations of the South—that secret conspirators here and there are ever planning and working to stir up insurrections in the South; and finally,

when it has come to pass that there can be found men who will both execute and defend raids upon the South—I say now—if you have a heart so perfectly swept of all sense of obligation in the premises, that to all this you naturally respond—“Oh, you cannot chain free speech; you cannot fetter the liberty of the press; you cannot guard against every violent act of bad men; you cannot arrest the waves of popular prejudice in a free-thinking, independent community; you cannot prevent legislation itself from taking an occasional step beyond the bounds of exact prudence and rectitude; and if there are vile men at the North, where do you find the community exempt from such an element of population?”—then I beg leave to put this appeal, solemnly, to my Northern friends: On this point of constitutional obligation to the South, is there not an universal demoralization of Northern society? And is not the solemn covenant of our fathers abandoned? Yes, my Northern brother! and it should thrill your conscience to reflect that the Southern man has never uttered the very first word—never entertained the very first thought of divesting you of that which he placed in your hand, when, for the same, you covenanted so solemnly to treat his institution with toleration and civility. Oh, yes! it should start up your slumbering conscience, to think that if Southern men were, to-day, to inaugurate the very slightest movement designed to throw you back for your present commercial privileges, upon the status quo before the national compact, and insist that from this day nothing short of a two-thirds vote in Congress should sustain any one regulation of commerce in the country—you know, my Northern friend, you know that you

would turn the world upside down to crush to instant death the faithless outrage. But lo ! when, bereft for twenty years of your own equally *clear* constitutional guarantee to him, the Southern man comes to you to-day and claims his rights once more, what is your reply ? You send him away, substantially, under the accustomed treatment of long years—“ *I am not sensible of any practical obligation in the premises!* ” Oh, should it surprise you that the South is out of heart, and dead to all hope of justice from the North ? Candidly—is not the *cession* of the South chargeable to the *unfaithfulness* of the North ?

Finally. Let it not be said, “ But you reflect not that we, of this nineteenth century, have emerged from the darkness of other days ; that a great new light has been shed upon us ; that we see, as with a beam from Heaven, that slavery is an unrighteous, odious, nefarious crime, and feel as though we had heard a voice from God, charging us to discountenance, denounce, and destroy the accursed thing. Under these new lights, and heaven-prompted ‘ cognitions,’ how can we sit still and connive at this outrageous inhumanity ? ” But stay, friend ! That light is very *questionable* which conducts you to a *breach of faith* ! That progress is more than doubtful, which brings you to falsify your word, and nullify a sacred covenant ! You must permit me yet once more to call you back to the recollection of early days. When your fathers and my fathers assembled to build a nation, your fathers entertained just such sentiments of slavery as you now express. They indulged just such feelings, employed just such words, and evinced a disposition to do just what you have done in the past, and propose to

do in the future. But my fathers calmly and firmly replied, that they entertained no such sentiments of the institution themselves, and would be associated with no men who proposed to act upon them. Your fathers were reduced to a dilemma. They longed for the union of the South. They wanted *her* help in *their* commerce. A question sprang up in the bosom of your fathers: "Although, in our judgment, slavery, in the abstract, is such an evil, and should be treated with such decided and public discountenance, yet circumstances alter cases. To obtain all the advantages of union to fraternity, morality, Christianity, and universal national prosperity, may we not virtuously covenant, that from this time we will withhold all depreciating, provoking treatment of the subject; that we will moreover pledge ourselves to our Southern brethren to manifest all such toleration of the practice as will enable and incline them to live in the spirit and habits of hearty peace and friendship with us?" They conferred, and decided this question—*affirmatively*. And now slavery from the South, and commerce from the North, were *committed*, with a view to see whether there could not be framed such "*a bargain*" in the premises as would satisfy both parties, and secure a sincere national union. "*The bargain*"—never forget this—the Northern fathers themselves called it by that name—"THE BARGAIN;" the bargain was made. The South gave her part—*commercial regulations*. The North gave hers—an *agreement*, from that time forth, to give to *slavery* such practical toleration as would be acceptable to a *Southern man*. Hear me now! My Northern friend, *your right to abuse slavery perished then and there*. Your fathers—for you—"bargained" it

away. It was surrendered in the constitution. Its grave lies buried deep amongst *the foundations of the government*. You may *go and read its epitaph* to-day, and every day, in the *capitals of our Magna Charta!*

This whole controversy between the North and the South, we apprehend, may be shut up within a very narrow compass. Either slavery *is* such an institution as may be virtuously tolerated in its American circumstances, or it is *not*. If slavery may be justifiably tolerated, then the covenant of the constitution binds you, and you must cease your encroachments upon its guarantees, or be a guilty man. If you feel that you cannot consent to throw down the weapons of your abusive warfare upon the institution, then in conscience and in honor one only course is yours. Come squarely up to the Southern man and say to him, "*My fathers made a covenant for me which I cannot carry out. You must reconstruct the government to meet my scruples, or I must beg leave to give up my part in it, and retire from the Union.*" This is the one only honest course for a Northern man. To remain in the Union and abuse slavery and slaveholders as you do, is to avail yourself of the commercial privileges of the government and pay nothing for them. It is to withdraw your capital from the firm, but insist upon your share of the profits. It is to take the specified government protection for your *own* rights, but deny *me* the specified government protection for *mine*. Settle this question. *Is a man bound by his word? Are covenants to be kept?* And when you do this, you settle our national controversy. But national hope begins to sink just here—the violent anti-slavery man *never studies his position*. He plants

the soles of his feet upon the most sacred right ever sealed between man and man, and draws his sword upon the proprietor. What a pulpit this from which to preach "The encroachments of the South!" "The wrongs of the North!" This man never *goes by the reins, never feels his check!* If he must curse slavery, let him wheel to the right-about and go North, and begin with his fathers for making such a constitution. In rectitude, surely he cannot take a single step *to the South*. Bitted, and curbed, and reined up, held back by the strong arm of the government, if he does go *South*, it is a *runaway* from beginning to end. *My friend, regularly dissolve your contract or go by it.* Never open your mouth to blame another, if you have to break a covenant by breaking silence.

In this hour of the nation's darkness, let us look to God. He brings day out of night, and he can cause love and justice to spring up out of all this wrangling and wrong. Yes! He who combines the incompatibilities of day and night, to heave out all blessing upon the world, can make North and South kindly work together, to accomplish all those grand results to liberty and religion, which we had so long trusted was the glorious mission of our common country.

IV. *Where shall we find the Origin and the Healing of this unhappy Strife?*

No man comprehends the sources of our national controversy, who does not include the different origin, history, character, avocation, and interest of the con-

tending sections. Nor is he any better informed, I apprehend, who does not set down the *practical substitution of Deism for Christianity*, or rather *deistical and fanatical anti-slavery*, as the grand exciting cause, the present efficient agent of the strife. Let no one understand me to say that the anti-slavery man is a deist, or a sinner, or a disunionist. On the contrary, I need not affirm, that the anti-slavery brother may be in general as orthodox as scripture itself; as holy as man ever is this side heaven; and as full of love, peace, or union, as mortal man can be. That there is nothing necessarily divisive in simple disapprobation of slavery, is established by one august historical fact. Anti-slavery views were spread out in strongest exhibition before our Northern and Southern fathers in the convention, and yet they shook hands over the subject, and *formed the Union*. But that there are influences, which, imbibed by anti-slavery sentiment, do impart to it a fearful capacity to reduce all social organizations to their elements, the whole history of North American society for the last quarter of a century, abundantly proclaims. Observation sustains analysis, and proves that *deism* and *fanaticism* incorporated with opposition to slavery, compose a sentiment which depreciates moral principle, and thus cuts the chord of *moral* union in the heart of the abolitionist; unhesitatingly tramples under foot all rights and interests that cross its path, and thus cuts the *social* chord of union in the breast of the so-called pro-slavery man; and by its fierceness and bitterness chafes to ultimate rupture and incapacity of toleration *every remaining bond* of fraternity. Should the reader require clearer proof of the proposition, he

will find an attempt to advance it in the *Appendix*. Be the suggested causes of our national disagreement ever so just or faulty, there is another question of far greater importance. How may this national strife be appeased? How may mischiefs afflicting or impending be averted?

A very feeble hope of thorough deliverance, I apprehend, is to be derived from conciliation or compromise, from secessions or force-bills, from peace congresses or national conventions; even from acts of Congress, or amendments of the constitution. None of these contrivances seem to reach the foundation of our troubles, which I take to be providential displeasure on account of the general religious dereliction of the people: nor to touch the method of their action, which I suppose to be the radical diversity of sentiment between the contending sections. Where then shall we go to find true deliverance from the surrounding, overshadowing calamities of the country?

The great God of man has given him a great rule to go by, especially under all the anxieties and perils of life. At such a time as this, when earth offers no solid ground of hope, let us look up and encourage ourselves in the Lord. Let us go to Him for counsel. Oh, let us lay our blessed Christianity alongside the great wounds of the nation, and we shall soon learn that our religion is the great Healer of the earth—national as well as individual.

1. Christianity will correct the *temper of the North* concerning the institution of the South.

I am aware that many persons apologize for their anti-slavery zeal on this principle—they feel *responsible* for

Southern slavery, because, as the *people in mass* made the Government of the United States, therefore, every man is directly accountable for all that the government countenances. The political theory is this: just as the people of a territory or a state make a territorial or a state government—so the people embraced by the old confederation in the aggregate, made the constitution of the United States. So says the constitution itself. "We, the people of the United States, do ordain and establish," &c. This, I apprehend, is a mistake. The true doctrine may be stated thus: The subscribing states as such, and not the people in mass, made the constitution. 'Tis true that they did this, not second-hand, as they had been accustomed to act, through their legislatures, or by deputies, but primarily by their people. That the states separately, and not the people collectively, made our government, is proved. *Visibly*: If the people in mass made the government, all prior political organizations must have been thrown down, in order that the people might have their self-governing power uncommitted and free for exercise. But see! Here are thirteen organized states. Whence came they? The constitution did not make them. Account for their existence after the formation of the general government, if you can, except upon the principle that they made it. *Historically*: We know by the record, that the states respectively appointed delegates to draw up a constitution, and then that the states respectively ratified the constitution presented. *Theoretically*: "All powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution are reserved to the states respectively or to the people." The import of this section is made perspicuous by the action of the several

states assembled in convention to ratify the constitution. *Massachusetts* declared, of all powers not expressly granted, "that they *are retained to the several states to be by them exercised.*" Precisely, this is the declaration of *New Hampshire*. *South Carolina* resolves that "every power, *not relinquished by the states and vested in the general government of the union,*" the *states* do retain. *Virginia* claims "that *each state in the union* shall respectively retain any power not delegated" by the same, &c., &c. Thus the power that made the United States government *came out of the states* respectively, and of course was not exercised by the people collectively. *Literally*: Surely the delegates of the convention that framed the constitution, of all men, should know who its authors are. When they acted in the formation of the constitution they expressed their action precisely in these words—Not "We, the people of the United States,"—but "we, the people of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, &c., &c., do ordain, declare, and establish the following constitution." When this resolution was passed, like every other act of the convention, it was placed in the hands of "The Committee of Style and Language," not to alter but to *express* the act. For brevity and euphony, instead of recording it in the language brought in—"We, the people of"—thirteen *long, rough, proper* names, they simply *generalized* what before had been *specified*. and said—"We, the people of the United States," &c., in view of the resolution passed,—"We, the people of the *subscribing states* (in union), do ordain and establish this constitution." *Authoritatively*: The Federalist tells us what every intelligent patriot knows, that our United States government is

partly *federal*, partly *national*, and partly *mixed*, both federal and national. In relation to this express point, "*the foundation on which the government is built*," James Madison thus expresses himself: "On one hand, the constitution is to be founded on the assent and ratification of the people of America, given by deputies elected for the special purpose; but on the other, this assent and ratification is to be given by the people, *not as individuals composing one entire nation, but as composing the distinct and independent states to which they respectively belong*. It is to be the assent and ratification of *the several states derived from the superior authority in each state*—the authority of the people themselves. *The act therefore of establishing the government will NOT be a NATIONAL, but a FEDERAL ACT.*" (Fed. p. 213.) Now if this be true, and if our Southern fathers never surrendered in the constitution the control of their domestic customs upon the subject of slavery, then the responsibility of a Northern man founded upon his power to control or touch the subject of slavery, is exactly as great and no greater than his responsibility and his power touching an alleged immorality in the British government. Most especially has he no right or power of interference, since the constitution itself places the whole subject beyond his reach. He may fight against the constitution on account of its slavery guarantees if he pleases, but never, never against slavery under the constitution.

It is a melancholy fact, which candor must concede, that so far from according to the South its double independence upon this subject, both original and constitutional, to an unhappy extent, the anti-slavery assaults of the North have been so persistent, belligerent, and abu-

sive, that they virtually deny to the South her rights of private judgment, independent agency, self-respect, domestic privacy, personal peace, private property, and covenanted toleration.

Breathe now the spirit of Christianity into the heart of the North and South upon this subject, and what is the issue? All indecorous excess at the North will be instantly restrained; all personal rights at the South will be instantly restored; and the North and the South—slavery to the contrary notwithstanding—will entertain feelings of mutual respect and kindness, and preserve all desirable mutual influence. Oh, what a seasonable, refreshing boon! The restoration of a becoming national temper upon this irritating subject!

2. Christianity will correct the *judgment* of the North concerning the institution of the South.

The man of color, like every other man, has two great interests. The one temporal, call it liberty; the other spiritual, the scriptures call it *salvation*. Especially in his present state of unpreparedness for freedom, in relative importance the former is as nothing compared with the latter. But the practical judgment of the North, so far as the influence of deistical anti-slavery extends, has precisely reversed this order, and thereby largely wrought all the convulsions of the country. The *social and religious improvement of the man of color*, his *all-in-all*, awakens comparatively no interest, is practically reckoned of no importance in the Northern mind, while his personal freedom, which it were murder to put into his hands to-day, the man of color must have, though it cost the instant overthrow of universal social order. What an unbalanced intellect! What a

perverted judgment ! You meet a man upon the streets. He has two rights : a right to draw a breath, and a right to take a step. You can destroy either of these rights of his at pleasure. You can put a bullet through his heart and overthrow one, and jostle his person and overthrow the other. What madmen would the passers-by be deemed if they exerted all power to prevent your execution of the latter, but none to prevent your execution of the former ! Touching the slave's right to take the step of temporal freedom, and to draw the breath of life eternal, anti-slavery has judged and acted very much as in the case supposed.

But now let our noble Christianity take the case in hand, and what a wholesome balance she instantly restores ! Without depreciating one whit man's right of liberty, or any other natural right of man, Christianity looks at the case as it is. It sees that these parties possess no present qualifications for freedom ; that the masters have no present right to decree their freedom, but stand under prior obligations to train them for ultimate enjoyment of all human rights. What then is the judgment of Christianity in the premises ? That the liberty of the slave is so important, you may disturb the foundations of society to secure it for him ! Far from it. Christianity rather decides, that for the present, *progressive social and religious improvement of the slave is his SUPREME GOOD*. He therefore who would befriend the slave should cherish a wholesome, practical, and supreme regard for his *sound worldly and religious culture*. Who now can describe the solid comfort and profit which would accrue to the black man, our country, and the world, if our Christianity

were only permitted to rectify the practical judgment of the North touching the true interests of the man of color, and the true obligations of the white man, North and South.

3. Christianity will *correct the conscience of the North* upon this subject.

The providence of God lends its sanction to the view of obligation suggested. Six capital acts comprise the history of the slave in America. By the first, he was separated from his native land and thus cut off from the fountains of paganism. By the second, he was landed on American shores and exposed to all the lights of civilization. By the third, he was placed here in the relation of a slave, and thus, preserved, he could become the object of a benevolent plan of progressive elevation. By the fourth, he became extensively christianized, and thus qualified to save others. By the fifth, an expulsive power returns him to his native country as fast as he obtains his freedom in this. And by the sixth he is re-established there in civilized, Christian colonies, and thus most effectually empowered to radiate recovering light among the degraded masses of the surrounding aborigines. I forget not man's evil part in all this history, but I would not close my eyes to the good use which God would make of man's bad conduct.* And, oh, if we could but concentrate the attention of the North upon these facts; if we could persuade her to remember that by votes in the constitutional convention her fathers opened the door for the importation of these African natives: that by their own ships they bore a prominent part in transporting them

* See Note C.

from their native homes and selling them as slaves to the South ; and especially, that the inherited proceeds of these slave sales are, this day, in the hands of their posterity ; should we not thereby plant one truth deep in her conscience, viz. That the great present duty of the North to the man of color in our country is, as much as in her lies, to do her part and work harmoniously with the South in accomplishing that benevolent purpose for which God in providence allowed his importation. Instead of doing this, to give the South no credit for all she has done in *elevating* these imported Africans ; to give the South no credit for all she has done in *christianizing* these imported Africans ; to take no interest and lend no aid in the one operation or the other, but, even to the destruction of the nation, to fight the South in behalf of abstract rights, which these fellow-men, even yet, have no capacity to enjoy, seems to me just the most unwise, unkind, and unfaithful mind for which, in the premises, the North could be responsible.

Oh, let our Christianity come to our help, and rectify the consciences of the North, and bring up a strong sense both of the honor and of the duty, just so far as the Southern man will open the way, to stand by his side and work with him for the solid social and spiritual welfare of the slave. Let the North but do this, and what a healing of breaches ! What a dispensation of mercies ! what a brightening of prospects ! should we witness on every hand.

4. Christianity will correct the *aims* of the North, touching the institution of the South.

What are the great interests of the colored population

of the South, and of the world, in the principles of their management? Decree the immediate and universal emancipation of the slaves of the South, and from one end of Christendom to the other, countless multitudes shall shout the praise of the edict. Yet a more censurable mismanagement of the case it were hard to plan. As for the black man's liberation, it would be a death-blow to him, and he would disappear from the earth in a very few generations; and as for the liberties and hopes of men in such a condition, in all time to come, liberation would be a death-blow to the true principle of their protection. Would you seek the true interests of our colored fellow-men, set it down, that the *social elevation of the man* of color, his capacity to take care of himself —this, this is his very greatest, because most needed blessing in this life. Behold the four millions of slaves of the South! For physical comfort, general intelligence, and the prospect of improvement in both, another such community of colored men cannot be found upon the face of the earth. You arrange, therefore, for the best good of the slave of the South at present, by perpetuating and improving the very causes which have brought up such multitudes of his color to a social summit level, so far above that of any similar number in the world? His *conversion to God!* I need not say, is pre-eminently *his very highest good*. There are this day in the United States, probably 600,000 colored communicants of the church of Christ. Collect all the work achieved by the combined missionary energies of the world, measure it by souls saved, and you would probably fail to find 200,000 hopeful, heathen converts—all told. To Christian philanthropy, is not this multitude

of colored Christian professors a most delightful and encouraging fact? If a greater number of colored Christians have died in the past than live at present, then probably millions of souls have already been redeemed among the slaves of the South. When of old God brought the black man from his country, and placed him in our hands, He said to America, "*Keep this man.* If by any means he be missing, then shall thy life be for his life." In the keeping of this prisoner the South has not done what she should have accomplished. The North has been yet more remiss in her part of the common charge; but we will both shout our thanksgivings to God in view of the glorious work He himself has principally wrought.

Let the North study what God has done, and take counsel of our glorious Christianity. If she does, she will instantly dismiss from her aims her wild attempt to inaugurate, in behalf of the man of color, a liberty-triumph, which he has no present culture to appreciate, and discard from her soul that feverish apprehension of the political power of the South, which has led her to plan the eternal confinement of the slave in his geographical prison (see Appendix). She will fix her heart upon this imported, intrusted stranger, and cherish a generous interest in his destiny. She will love to feel if God has done so much for his truest, best interests in the past, when the philanthropy of his fellow-men, North and South, was so feeble and questionable, what might not God do for him and his posterity in the future, if North and South would now shake hands in a covenant of sincere kindness to their humble protégé? She will say to the bondman of the South, "Even to

promote human weal, I may not do wrong; go forth, therefore, into all the earth; increase and multiply, and the God of thy fathers be with thee. All that we can do, through the direction of those intrusted with the more immediate supervision, by hearty good-will, pecuniary contribution, wise suggestion, and earnest prayer to advance your progressive training towards an ultimate capacity for all secular and spiritual blessing, we pledge ourselves henceforth to consecrate. When we look into the future, should the heavens be overcast at times, and terrors spring up again, and sight fail, we will bring up the better vision of faith, and say, 'Hitherto the Lord hath helped thee.' 'Surely goodness and mercy shall follow thee all the days of thy life.' And finally, under all the fearful peculiarities of thy condition, and the dark forebodings of our own unbelief, we will strive to cherish the cheerful confidence that the consummation of thy destiny will be as glorious as its commencement was unparalleled. 'For ask now of the days that are past, which were before thee, since the day that God created man upon earth, and ask from the one side heaven unto the other, whether there hath been any such thing as this great thing is, or hath been heard like it? Did ever God assay to go and take him a nation from the midst of another nation, by temptations, by signs, and by wonders, and by war, and by a mighty hand, and by a stretched-out arm, and by great terrors, according to all that the Lord your God did for you before the eyes of the world.' " Who can believe that our God—at work to save the world—by all this stupendous power, at all this terrific cost, has taken a nation from the very bosom of the darkest degradations

of the fall, transported them half around the world, and set them down amidst the brightest shinings of the saving light of heaven, and meant no good by it? Duties are ours—events are God's. Let us bring up our faith to the loudness of the call of Providence. Let us look away from the comfortless temporal to the glorious spiritual bearings of the subject! Side by side let us work with God, for God's benign ends. And though thick darkness hangs over our vision of the issue, let us remember, that He who directs the movement is omniscient. In our place, under his lead, let us work faithfully, for the glory of our leader, and the present and eternal good of our African fellow-men; and let us keep up a good heart; and for one, I am free to express my trust, that in some way—nor do I care to know his plan—God is able, and has purposed to make the consummation of this movement as transcendently glorious as he has made its commencement in our day pre-eminently peculiar. Oh, that I could heave up all my fellow-men of this nation from the miserable littleness of quarrelling over the social relations of this mighty subject, to the Christian elevation of looking to the hand of God, and working supremely for the best good of the fellow-men he has intrusted to our keeping!

Oh, my country, what is to become of thee? Is there then to be no more a UNITED STATES OF AMERICA? So long the pride of the North American, and the glory of the world? How it wrings the heart to think of it! What can be done in this dark hour? Compromises may *connect*, but can never *unite* the people. *Organizations band* the body, *sentiment only welds* the parts. Oh, friend and brother of the North, I fear you

have had too much to do in working out these dark issues. Wrong is rarely confined to one party—nor do I insist upon it here. But in behalf of yourself and our Northern brethren, for God's sake, and for man's—will you not give impartial heed to the serious convictions addressed to you on these sheets? Pray, think of it! If the opinions here expressed are true, and you will heartily adopt them—this shall save the nation, as nothing else can! Before the God of our country, *do* you not believe them, in the main, to be true? Are you not assured that the Northern fathers were never authorized by Southern delegates in the constitutional convention to expect that slavery should be brought to a speedy close? In your heart, then, let the South have the benefit of this solid truth. In consideration for commercial privileges granted by the South, are you not assured that the North covenanted to yield to the South all such claims and toleration upon the subject of slavery as would secure to her, in this relation, a comfortable, honorable, and profitable participation in the Union? Then, in your very soul, give to the South the full benefit of this most important right. Whatever pride, passion, assumption, and misconduct may have been justly laid to the charge of the South, are you not convinced that, on the whole, the South has not wandered very far from *her* stipulations in the great constitutional compact upon which the government was founded? Let the South then have the full advantage of this important admission in your mind. Are you not assured, that the North, for long years, has allowed her people to carry out a vexatious persecution of the South, in the very teeth of her

own slavery guarantees, which has largely despoiled Southern men of that peace, respect, and profit in the Union, so sacredly pledged? If this be indeed so—and surely you will not deny it—should you not be willing to concede the wrong and make amends for it? Finally—Has not our national controversy its origin very largely in this unhappy truth: viz. that the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ has had too little to do with almost *all Northern virtue* upon the subject of slavery? In the leading class of opponents, and in all others under their influence, has not a fanatical spirit been allowed to disturb kind relations, unsettle sound judgment, demoralize good conscience, and set the heart upon disorganizing ends! Come now, friend! Speak out from the sincerities of your soul—to save our glorious country—will you not do right? Will you not act sensibly, honorably, justly? Will you not permit the God of the nation, by his most blessed book, in all the matter of our difference, to breathe a kinder temper into your heart, to shed sounder light upon your understanding, to set up a juster rule in your conscience, and place before you wiser ends than you have sought? But do this, and think of it—It shall save our people, as nothing else can. For—justice to the South! On the one hand, it is the very last element of hopeful reconstruction of our divided country; on the other, the most potent agent of a sound fraternity between our bordering nations! Only let the North *do right*—only let her see, feel, and say—“We have all gone wrong in this matter of slavery. The South never troubled us in her part of the contract, but fairly gave us all she engaged to surrender. We, on the contrary, have

not secured to her what we covenanted to convey. We have *disturbed* her where we promised *peace*. We have suffered her to be *dishonored* where we vowed *protection*. And we have allowed to be *taken away from her* what we ourselves promised *to restore*. In a word, we have *not kept our bargain with the South*. No! we have not!?" Now, my Northern friend! Let the South do or fail to do what she may—will *you do right!* For the sake of our country, the church, and the world—do right, my friend—do right. And by the constitution of things, and the fidelity of its author, heaven and earth shall *see* what the *North* and the *South* shall *feel*—that the *work of righteousness is—peace*.

A P P E N D I X.

DEISM is that working of human faculties which accepts the existence, but rejects the character of God. It is the child of the fall, and therefore, spiritually, the perfect antagonism of the God of the Scriptures. It cannot shut out nature's displays of the majesty, wisdom, power, and goodness of Jehovah, but it does not like to retain in its knowledge his stricter attributes—holiness, justice, truth, and immutability—and therefore repudiates the entire revelation of God in Jesus Christ. Thus, deism reaches God by the very narrowest possible glance; and this, as we have said, altogether one-sided; embracing his natural, but excluding his moral perfections. The primary result is this: Deism never sees the *law of God*; because this is built upon God's moral perfections as well as his natural relations. Consequently, to any valuable purpose, the deist never feels religious responsibility, nor natural depravity, nor divine condemnation, nor salvation by Jesus, nor glory beyond the grave. The ultimate result leaves the deist *no heaven* which he can appreciate beyond the *fruition of natural rights*. The illimitable enjoyment of property, character, *liberty*, or life, constitutes the highest good that ever visited the imagination of deism. American history very naturally fixed the American heart upon *liberty*. British oppression had qualified us to relish it, by privation. The struggles of the Revolution endeared it, through hope deferred. The Declaration of Independence

brought it near, by heroic assertion. The surrender of Yorktown flushed the soul with its conscious achievement. The praise of foreign nations for its happy developments amongst us, filled our hearts with an exultant sense of its admirable properties; while the Fourth of July, our day of liberty-worship, annually feeds our devotion with its glorious reminiscences.

It was perfectly natural that our passionate embrace of liberty should ultimately swell into *fanaticism*. Why not? Fanaticism is a compound of two mental forces: the one *direct*, seizing its object; the other collateral, shutting off intermeddling claimants. Destroy the deism of the mind, and you open it to the inlet of a spiritual world, which must break up the maddening absorption of the soul in any single secularity. The immortality of man, his responsibility to God, the corruption of his nature, damnation to the sinner, salvation to the believer, the last great day, the fires of hell, the raptures of heaven—such topics as these must exert a mighty attraction upon human thought, and furnish lofty standards for the measurement of mere secularities, and of necessity must lower down earthly liberty to its proper comparative insignificance. But deism nullifies all superior objects, and thereby protects the soul against all foreign intrusion, and leaves it to spend itself exclusively, intensely, and perpetually (in our case) upon the *glories of liberty*, and thus philosophically *breeds fanaticism*. Liberty, therefore, with very many in our country, is the *heaven* of deism. It is the one highest, chieftest good of man. All else is nothing to it. He who is stripped of his liberty is the accursed of the earth.

Now, when this fanatical liberty of the North fixes its eyes upon the *slave of the South*, is it any wonder that it should have roused creation to overthrow Southern institutions? The fanatic's eye sees nothing to relieve the

calamity it surveys. One dark, forbidding object fills the entire range of his vision. For his own advantage, a tyrant has robbed a fellow-man of the supreme good, and infix'd upon him the sum of all evils. No wonder he heaves and swells. O the *fancies!* *the fancies* that live in this world ! This man's mind has lost its balance, and been turned upside-down. I shall shock and enrage him to the very core of his heart by the utterance of a simple truth. In view of Christianity's doctrine of an immortality, at hand, of unmixed and immutable good or evil, it is a matter of the most consummate non-importance whether man's brief life on earth is spent in slavery or in freedom. Place liberty at the head of all secularities, and yet there is no one spiritual element of an immortal being, in itself considered, that is not worth more than all the natural liberties of the generations of the earth. So thinks the infinite mind. For during all the ages wherein the spirit of knowledge dwelt in the souls of men, this very liberty, to every possible extent, on every hand, was both crushed and enjoyed, both individually and nationally ; yet, though that spirit was charged with worlds upon worlds of all sorts of messages to man from the God of light, not one single word did he ever utter to speak the ignominy of slavery or the glory of liberty. The enormous misconception which makes up this fanatical idea of liberty, which turns everything upside-down, and makes the highest and the lowest to change places—surely, in a world built to be governed by truth, such a principle must work incalculable mischief. Let us rapidly trace the course of this deistical fanaticism in our country.

I.—*It depreciates moral principle.*

I say not that extreme anti-slavery men have no principle—that, in general, they are not as good or even better than

other men. But I say that their fanaticism is immoral in its tendency, and rather damages than improves their virtue, because by inherent necessity it exerts a power unfriendly to a sense of moral obligation. This is indicated by its *temper*. Love is the basis of all virtue. Excite the man; start his fanaticism, and you will mark two things. His every breath seems to be violence and bitterness: nor does he appear to possess, on this point, anything like love in his nature. Recollect, the Spirit of knowledge, the Spirit of holiness, and Spirit of love, *is one and the same Spirit*. If, therefore, you drive the Spirit of love out of your heart on any one subject, by that very act you have probably expelled the Spirit of truth and righteousness also. It is still more clearly indicated by its *structure*. The mind of the fanatic holds one dominant thought, to which all else in the mind, or that enters it, must yield. In our case the ruling thought is this: *To hold a fellow man in bondage* is probably the greatest, certainly the *clearest sin* in the world. Whatever comes along therefore, call it argument, obligation, or what you will, to modify his sentiments—*has less evidence to commend it to his adoption than his governing thought has*. Remember, too, that there is a *furor* in the heart as well as a *halo* in the intellect of the fanatic. The moment, therefore, any separating element, no matter what, arises between his heart and its object, so ferocious is the adhesion that his soul will hate it instantly, assail it vehemently, and expel it violently. The result is that all moral considerations, like everything else, have but little power over such a mind, and will certainly be depreciated. Tell him that the constitution of the country is built upon the compact of the fathers—that in consideration of the solid advantages surrendered by the South, we and our posterity have solemnly promised to concede the *authority of the master*. What is his reply? Let the

constitution and the covenant slide—freedom is inalienable ! Tell him the powers that be are ordained of God—that submission to law is Christian duty—and that our government demands of its citizens that they acknowledge the bondage of the servant. What will he say ? Down with the government ! It traverses man's clearest conviction to disparage man's highest weal. Bring *the Bible* itself to lay its teachings upon the mind of this man. Tell him that God says to the bondman : “Art thou called being a slave, care not for it ! When you have lost your liberty you have not lost your all. Obey your master faithfully.” What does he reply ? “Liberty ! liberty !! This is the grand primary right ! This the chief blessing of all ! Away with the Bible if it crosses all natural instincts to break down all natural rights.” The fact is, all adverse obligation is a dead letter in the line of this man's excitement. You cannot touch his conscience. Try the experiment. How can he conscientiously receive the protection of the government when, so far from rendering allegiance, he tears away from his master that slave which the government orders him to retain if he should find him a fugitive ? He feels no difficulty. How can he trample southern rights under his feet, and yet consent to go on accumulating the blessings of commerce in the use of a privilege put into his hand by the southern man expressly in consideration of his promise to respect southern rights ? But he is sensible of no compunctions. A very good man he may be in a thousand respects : on this point his moral nature is laid in the dust. The decisive fact is this : The *inspiration of his object* is the only *law of the fanatic*. To him this is all rectitude. All covenants and principles that would break the hold of his maddened mind are withs upon the limbs of the Hebrew giant. Thus, you perceive, fanaticism breaks every *moral*

ligament which should hold a man in union with his neighbor.

II.—*Deistical anti-slavery tramples upon all rights and interests which cross its path.*—Love for the slave, in the bosom of the abolitionist, soon began to give way before the fierce passion of hate to the master. Now, it would appear that the best interests of the beneficiary must be sacrificed to insatiate hostility to the slaveholder. No ordinary demonstration of this fact would seem to be furnished by that proposed interminable confinement of the slave within the limits of his present geographical abode, in which the soul of the fanatic appears to find such exultant satisfaction. To lay off impassable jail-bounds for four millions of rapidly growing colored population in the heart of the most civilized nation under heaven—what a singular offspring from that mind which boasts of its love of liberty, especially the liberty of the black man.

Before entering upon the discussion of this subject, I would premise again that I do not primarily embrace here a large class of persons, who, like the abolitionists, object to Southern claims touching fugitives, territories, slave states, etc., and who hold to *slave confinement*, etc. etc., but have a very different mind on the whole subject—different views, motives, and ends. Yet this, in general, is true of such persons. They are more or less open both to the influence and the charge of abolitionism as they do in a greater or less degree sympathize with its doctrines and its spirit. On this topic the characteristic difference is this: In proportion to his separation from fanatical anti-slavery the party will be apt to look out upon the interests of the world and seek to stay evil and do good; while the abolitionist, under the dominion of his too fierce fanaticism, will be more strongly prompted to look in upon slavery and the slaveholder, and by a cordon of free states drawn

close around, work to incarcerate, environ, and strangle the monsters.

1. *This measure of slave confinement upon a gigantic scale must ultimately destroy the liberties and hopes of the slave by preventing their natural development.* Supposing the South to enjoy in the future her ancient liberty of locomotion, and that the same privileges hereafter shall sustain the same ratio of increase, it is calculated that her colored population will amount to near fifty millions in 1960. This stupendous result! Who does not see that it must prove an enormous abortion, if you undertake to develop it within the geographical bounds prescribed? But tell me! Why have not these colored fellow-men at the South, as good a right to live, and grow, and flourish in the earth as any other people under heaven? Why are not their natural rights equal to those of any other branch of Adam's family? When God gave the products and liberties of the earth to man in the garden, did he not design that the man of color should have an equal share with the white man? When God commanded the race to increase and multiply and fill the earth, did he not address the one as certainly as the other? Simply for the color of his skin, my Northern friend, why should you cast a fellow-man from a gift and a privilege which God himself has made the common heritage of the race? Under his former auspices, for generations he has been steadily growing in a host of the richest natural gifts. He certainly has constantly improved in physical health, comeliness, and power; in intelligence, character, piety, happiness, and universal culture. He has certainly made steady progress from the beginning towards a development which may ultimately qualify him, every way, to take his full part in all the social responsibilities, dignities, and enjoyments of his race. Why will you cut down at a blow all these richest blessings and hopes of the

black man? After the God of Providence, through his Southern master, has done so much for him and brought him on so far from the very darkest and cruellest barbarism towards hopeful deliverance from his every native degradation—by your barbarous edict of slave imprisonment, oh, why would you tear him away from the bright hopes which have long been very slowly but very certainly dawning upon his future, and throw him back into a condition far more calamitous than that from which the slave-ship rescued him? My Northern brother, change your heart towards the black man. Love him warmly, as many a Southern man does; in his place, let him go out freely into all the earth, and increase, and multiply, and improve, and enjoy himself, as other men do; and go thou down and stand beside his master, your brother and neighbor, and kindly converse with him touching all those wholesome laws, institutions, and arrangements which may most happily develop all his faculties, rights, and interests through time to come; and give him the full enjoyment of his present happy opening for his own temporal and eternal good, and the elevation of his continent; and you will put your hand to one of the very noblest and largest works man ever undertook since he fell from the likeness in which God made him. Yes! Do this, and you will prove yourself a far more sincere and sensible friend of the bond and the free than your insufferably tyrannical edict of Southern impalement bids fair to make you.

2. But this abolition discipline of the master, by the eternal confinement of the slave, does not limit its malice to the lower class of natural rights. There is a sense in which it virtually strikes at human *life* itself with the most unsparing hand. The nature and objects of Southern society require that the whites should dwell amongst the blacks in equal if not superior numbers. This Northern project of

Southern impalement is responsible therefore for crowding within the present territorial limits of the South in the year 1960, an agricultural population of near one hundred millions of souls. Domesticate this enormous multitude of human beings upon the territory around which deistical anti-slavery would build such insurmountable walls, and the gloom and the havoc which, though not planned, must inevitably follow, who can depict? So dense a population in so hot a climate, cholera, yellow fever, and plague must mow them down by tens of thousands! Forced to go out and build their domiciles, and breathe the air along the sickliest swamps of the country, climate fever must waste them fearfully through all the hot months of the summer; compelled to go forth and plant the arid sands and exhausted fields which cover half a hundred square miles in many portions of the land, what multitudes must starve to death for the lack of the common bread of life? The unprosperous condition of the master, and the darkening lot of the servant, must breed mutual discontent, and what ill-blood, insurrection, and murder, from time to time, must agonize and depopulate the universal region! In a word, this dark, malignant decree, whatever benign intentions may sustain it in many minds, must eventually roll forth one broad wave of desolation and destruction over the entire population of the district inclosed. Remember! In point of criminality, it matters not much whether I put a bullet through a man's heart and kill him instanter, or employ a month in gradually strangling an embryo ere it comes forth to breathe in this world of life! Look out now upon communities which the past and the present assure you do certainly possess all the capacities, surroundings, and generative power, under ordinary providence, to throw out upon earth a hundred millions of healthy, hopeful people in 1960. Move up and seize these nations! By confinement,

oppression, and strangulation, deliberately prevent the birth of this prodigious population ! Before God and man, is it not somewhat as though you had regularly set to work, upon just such a multitude, the necessary causes of their destruction ? And does it require you to stretch your imagination very far beyond the boundaries of reason to enrol the probable issues of this incarceration of the South amongst the most stupendous catastrophes that ever stained the records of humanity ? When poor Lopez was strapped hard and fast to the Spanish chair, and the executioner behind began to screw up the metallic girt about his throat, I almost wonder that the earth did not shriek out from beneath, when, in an instant, the blood, cut off from its return to the heart, rushed out to the extremities of the skin, blackened every pore of his face, blood-shot both his glaring eyes, and before a crowd of living men, put the poor wretch to a death that forcibly bereft him of nature's last relief, a groan or a struggle. Look ! my maddened friend of the North, look upon your worse than metallic throttle ! Have you not thrown it around the necks of the forthcoming generations of a whole family of civilized states ? By your own cruel, penal impalement may you not be near to turning the screw that shall *garotte* on this free soil of America scores of millions of your countrymen ? Is *this* a becoming work for the gallant friend of liberty and of the black man ? The most inhuman suffocation of one hundred and forty-six English prisoners in the Black Hole of Calcutta ! The pestilence, death, and putrefaction of thousands of African natives cruelly crowded between the decks of the slave-ship ! are terrible tragedies. But how narrow their dimensions ! How speedy their relief ! Ah, think ! In your great black dungeon of the South, when population shall become too dense for production, and labor and living too hard for

content, and hope can extract nothing but the blackness of darkness from the future, and starvation, and insurrection, and pestilence shall become the order of the day, and untold disasters shall agonize the souls and mow down the bodies of struggling generations, then shall be practically portrayed not the catastrophe which deistical anti-slavery malignantly set out to accomplish, but what would seem to be the legitimate result of that lack of philanthropy, of that unreflecting malignity which animates its persecution of the slaveholder.

We had seen that the fanatic would tread down the Constitutional rights of the slaveholder, and the august authority of the government. *Now*, we are assured that there is nothing too dear or sacred to be sacrificed to the demands of his inexorable will. The man of color, he whose patron he had assumed to be before the eyes of the world, he in whose defence he had drawn his sword and perilled his peace—even he—must suffer the loss of all, if vengeance upon the grand enemy calls for it. He must be thrown into a dungeon, cut off from God's primary gift to man of the liberties and blessings of the earth; bereft of the divine privilege of unrestrained propagation and universal progress; nor matters it much whether he be wasted from the face of the earth, so the fanatic's vengeance upon his enemy be glutted.

What, on earth, can safely confederate with such a principle? We have seen that there is no such *moral* character as can bind the fanatic to any course of procedure at variance with his special object; and now we observe that there is no interest or class of men which should or will be willing to trust either his justice or his mercy in a *social* union.

III.—*Finally, it destroys political structure.* In a republic, no union, no government. Without common consent,

there can be no public control. He therefore destroys the government, who makes the political association of grand sections of the people insufferable. From its earliest rise, fanatical anti-slavery, with a steadily augmenting force, has been pressing out upon the South its adverse doctrines, charges, demands, and procedures, until its violent, inexorable opposition has destroyed primitive affinities, set up invidious distinctions, and multiplied fretting hostilities beyond further endurance, and by its direct and resulting influence compelled the South to seek her peace in secession. To a considerable extent, all the forces of society have been subordinated, very naturally, to the accomplishment of this work. *Learning*—with her schools, colleges, lectures, periodicals, novels, and graver works: *politics*—with her parties, platforms, speeches, papers, and patronage: *religion*—with her tracts and organs, her family and Sabbath-school training, her sanctuary prayers and sermons, and her ecclesiastical protests and prohibitions: in a word, almost every power amongst men, organized or irregular, is subsidized to get up and bring out an “effective aggression” upon slavery throughout the country. Upon the *feelings* of the South, by all these forces, through all these channels, this severe spirit, directly or indirectly, for long years has been pouring out a flood of irritating defamation. From the *ownership* of the South, Northern population along the borders, for long years, through byways and railroads above ground and below it, have stood ready to bear away every slave who could be disaffected and removed. Against the *Constitutional rights* of the South, for long years, throughout large portions of the North, a strong public sentiment and strong State legislation have sprung up, ostensibly to prevent Southern kidnapping of Northern freemen, but purposely to oppose Northern rendition of Southern fugitives. Against the honorable

equality of the South, from the political heights of the nation you may now hear these dominant pronunciamientos: “*No more slave States!*”—though slave States took part in forming the Constitution, have a door opened to their admission in the very foundations of the Constitution, and from the earliest days have been constantly added to the Union. “*No more transportation of slaves into the territories!*”—though the Constitution was constructed to accommodate slave-holding territories, and though in early days slaves were permitted to dwell for generations in the only territories of the country permanently free—made so, by the way, through the generosity of the South. “*Perpetual impalement of all slaves within their present geographical limits!*” This, though it is undeniable that any and every one of these imprisoning States, if it pleases so to do, has the most perfect right, by the Constitution of the country, to import all these slaves of the South, and domesticate them as such within their own territorial boundaries.

All this fanaticism has done, not by one act of its own power, but by enlisting the co-operation of all sympathizing sentiment as far as she was able to secure it, seeking therein, however, more violent ends than many proposed who sustained the same measures. Now when the South reflected that from year to year it was in vain that she lifted her voice in solemn protest against all this unconstitutional persecution of Southern rights; that an anti-Southern party, if not perfectly, yet considerably imbued with this anti-Southern spirit, holds now the reins of government in its hands; and that recently, when the South was in the very act of secession, the dominant party, though strongly pressed, declined to provide satisfactory security against those mischiefs which the South felt she had great reason to apprehend from the unfriendly spirit and uncon-

stitutional progress of those now in power; in view of these and other considerations, she concluded that in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to herself and her posterity, it became her solemn duty to dissolve her connexion with those States whose opposite and dominant principles and interests had now placed beyond her hope the legitimate objects of political union.

Does any man inquire—What is it that has dissolved the American Union? Address your attention to that deistical, fanatical opposition to slavery, whose ferocious appreciation of natural rights knows nothing of the balancing power of Christianity; which has long been dividing conventions, families and parties; churches, societies and denominations, all over the country; beyond all question this agent exerts a still higher power, and dissolves States and breaks government. Ah, how true is this! Were it possible to extend an arm over the past, and lay hold of the very first stirrings of this principle, and tear out from American history all its direct and remote agency to the present hour, you would thereby leave the North and South so heartily united that creation could hardly drive them asunder.

What now shall we think of *deistical anti-slavery*?* I will not say that no promptings of sympathy, no sense of justice, no generous bearing, no manly intrepidity, have throbbed in the breast of our misguided fellow-man. I dare not say that there dwell not in his soul elements which every noble man is forced to admire. But this I do say: His fanaticism, analysed, reveals, in astounding development, the unconscious but enormous hostility of sin to *reason* as well as to rectitude. In *springing into life*, abolition cuts off

* Note C.

God from man, and man from God, by nullifying that law which connects them. *Mentally*, it upturns the constitution of things by lifting liberty above praise and sinking Christianity below contempt. *Morally*, it tramples under foot love, conscience, compacts, government, and revelation itself, if they cross its creed, and would unlock its hold upon its object. *Practically*, it ruptures all it touches—families, parties, churches, nations. And *finally*, such is its malignant and reckless will, it never stays to mark that the liberties, hopes, and lives of patronized nations are under its feet, if this but seems the *shortest way to run down and crush out that which it burns to destroy*.

Is it any wonder that our nation is divided? What else could be expected of a principle so *self-willed, unreasonable, immoral, malignant, and reckless*, set to work within the dominion of *regnant, wise, holy, and immutable perfection*.

NOTE A.

VIRGINIA, Maryland, and Delaware, in early days, entertained the most honorable views upon the subject of slavery, if they were not the most efficient. Virginia, by the ordinance of '87, ceded to the general government her north-western territory, embracing the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, now containing a population of 7,000,000 souls. Unlike Connecticut, Virginia made no reservation, and when the second half of the land shall have been sold at the price paid for the first, will have placed in the treasury of the United States \$200,000,000. This entire territory, vastly against her pecuniary interest, in demonstration of the sincerity of her anti-slavery opinions, she dedicated to freedom. She expressed her sincere conviction, moreover, by a vote of her legislature, that it became her to manumit her slaves, at a proper time. Private emancipation had been practised for a long time. Through a course of years the mind of Virginia was undergoing a change as to the benefits and duty of this practice. In 1832 she made the definitive conclusion that the experiment was a failure; that emancipation wrought injury alike to the servant and the commonwealth. It is a mistake to ascribe this change of views to the high price of cotton. The average price of cotton for twelve years previous to 1832, by American and British records, was more than *twelve* and a half cents per pound; since that period to the present day, the average price has been less than *ten* cents and a half. In 1833, it should be remembered, the American Anti-slavery Society was formed, and the abolition agitation commenced at the North, and has never ceased from that day to drive the South further and still further from every thought of emancipation.

Let it be observed, first, that although the fathers may have entertained the opinion that the Northern tier of Southern States would probably emancipate their slaves, these States made no concession to the North on this subject, nor was there anything like a pledge given by them. Observe again, that the North were in no condition either to demand or even receive a pledge. They had exhibited a mental instability which prevented the possibility of any such thing. They came near, as frontier-men say, to *rolling logs* with the *pro-slavery* States. "You help *me* to roll my log of *commerce* into the constitution, and I will help *you* to roll your log of *slavery* into the constitution." Virginia and Delaware stood firm on their anti-slavery ground, and any such notion as a pledge on this subject

by the border States to the North is preposterous. But observe once more, the expectation of the fathers that slavery would be speedily abandoned by the South, in an important sense, *could not* rest upon Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware. The *difficulty* did not rest with *them*, and could not be removed by them. It was the extreme South that *needed* slavery, that *desired* slavery, and was *determined* to *preserve* slavery. It was the extreme South only, then, whose co-operation was necessary to *encourage the expectation of the fathers*. But the Northern fathers, for their own ends, leagued themselves with the South, and encouraged the importation of slaves, and justified their own expectation of the *continuance* rather than the *disappearance* of slavery.

NOTE B.

I am aware that, in its February issue, the New-Englander, through one of its contributors, professes to review this position, and devotes to it some five or six pages, somewhat after the fashion of a rambling, infidel burlesque. The effort betrays little thought and less argument.

My proposition consists of three ideas—a *missionary—plan—of providence*. I suppose that God had *his part* in the transportation of Africans to this country: this he seems to discredit. That this act of God was according to *plan*: this he explicitly denies. That God's *object* was the salvation of the African: this, too, he seems to disbelieve.

1. By denying God's agency in the slave trade, the doctrine of the review *destroys God's attributes*. Save that exercised by God, is there any *independent* power in the universe? Has there ever occurred an event in the production of which God employed no power? If the slave trade is such an occurrence, then here is a moving agent whom God does not pervade. Where is his *omnipresence*? Here is an effect produced independent of God's power. Where is his *omnipotence*? Here is an element, a *means*, of which neither God's knowledge nor his goodness makes use. Where is his infinite wisdom? Where his infinite goodness? Not so the Scriptures—“*Who worketh all things.*” If this is truth, then God wrought the slave trade, and my first position is Scriptural.

2. By *denying God's plan* in the slave trade, the doctrine of the review *destroys God's reign*. Does God ever act by chance, or by fate, or ignorantly, or unconsciously? If *not*, then God always acts by *plan*. But the review contends that God had no plan embracing the slave trade, because this fact would make God the author of sin. On this principle,

NOTE A.

VIRGINIA, Maryland, and Delaware, in early days, entertained the most honorable views upon the subject of slavery, if they were not the most efficient. Virginia, by the ordinance of '87, ceded to the general government her north-western territory, embracing the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, now containing a population of 7,000,000 souls. Unlike Connecticut, Virginia made no reservation, and when the second half of the land shall have been sold at the price paid for the first, will have placed in the treasury of the United States \$200,000,000. This entire territory, vastly against her pecuniary interest, in demonstration of the sincerity of her anti-slavery opinions, she dedicated to freedom. She expressed her sincere conviction, moreover, by a vote of her legislature, that it became her to manumit her slaves, at a proper time. Private emancipation had been practised for a long time. Through a course of years the mind of Virginia was undergoing a change as to the benefits and duty of this practice. In 1832 she made the definitive conclusion that the experiment was a failure; that emancipation wrought injury alike to the servant and the commonwealth. It is a mistake to ascribe this change of views to the high price of cotton. The average price of cotton for twelve years previous to 1832, by American and British records, was more than *twelve* and a half cents per pound; since that period to the present day, the average price has been less than *ten* cents and a half. In 1833, it should be remembered, the American Anti-slavery Society was formed, and the abolition agitation commenced at the North, and has never ceased from that day to drive the South further and still further from every thought of emancipation.

Let it be observed, first, that although the fathers may have entertained the opinion that the Northern tier of Southern States would probably emancipate their slaves, these States made no concession to the North on this subject, nor was there anything like a pledge given by them. Observe again, that the North were in no condition either to demand or even receive a pledge. They had exhibited a mental instability which prevented the possibility of any such thing. They came near, as frontier-men say, to *rolling logs* with the *pro-slavery* States. "You help *me* to roll my log of *commerce* into the constitution, and I will help *you* to roll your log of *slavery* into the constitution." Virginia and Delaware stood firm on their anti-slavery ground, and any such notion as a pledge on this subject

by the border States to the North is preposterous. But observe once more, the expectation of the fathers that slavery would be speedily abandoned by the South, in an important sense, *could not* rest upon Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware. The *difficulty* did not rest with *them*, and could not be removed by them. It was the extreme South that *needed* slavery, that *desired* slavery, and was *determined* to *preserve* slavery. It was the extreme South only, then, whose co-operation was necessary to *encourage the expectation of the fathers*. But the Northern fathers, for their own ends, leagued themselves with the South, and encouraged the importation of slaves, and justified their own expectation of the *continuance* rather than the *disappearance* of slavery.

NOTE B.

I am aware that, in its February issue, the *New-Englander*, through one of its contributors, professes to review this position, and devotes to it some five or six pages, somewhat after the fashion of a rambling, infidel burlesque. The effort betrays little thought and less argument.

My proposition consists of three ideas—a *missionary—plan—of providence*. I suppose that God had *his part* in the transportation of Africans to this country: this he seems to discredit. That this act of God was according to *plan*: this he explicitly denies. That God's *object* was the salvation of the African: this, too, he seems to disbelieve.

1. By denying God's agency in the slave trade, the doctrine of the review *destroys God's attributes*. Save that exercised by God, is there any *independent* power in the universe? Has there ever occurred an event in the production of which God employed no power? If the slave trade is such an occurrence, then here is a moving agent whom God does not pervade. Where is his *omnipresence*? Here is an effect produced independent of God's power. Where is his *omnipotence*? Here is an element, a *means*, of which neither God's knowledge nor his goodness makes use. Where is his infinite wisdom? Where his infinite goodness? Not so the Scriptures—"Who worketh all things." If this is truth, then God wrought the slave trade, and my first position is Scriptural.

2. By *denying God's plan* in the slave trade, the doctrine of the review *destroys God's reign*. Does God ever act by chance, or by fate, or ignorantly, or unconsciously? If *not*, then God always acts by *plan*. But the review contends that God had no plan embracing the slave trade, because this fact would make God the author of sin. On this principle,

ligament which should hold a man in union with his neighbor.

II.—*Deistical anti-slavery tramples upon all rights and interests which cross its path.*—Love for the slave, in the bosom of the abolitionist, soon began to give way before the fierce passion of hate to the master. Now, it would appear that the best interests of the beneficiary must be sacrificed to insatiate hostility to the slaveholder. No ordinary demonstration of this fact would seem to be furnished by that proposed interminable confinement of the slave within the limits of his present geographical abode, in which the soul of the fanatic appears to find such exultant satisfaction. To lay off impassable jail-bounds for four millions of rapidly growing colored population in the heart of the most civilized nation under heaven—what a singular offspring from that mind which boasts of its love of liberty, especially the liberty of the black man.

Before entering upon the discussion of this subject, I would premise again that I do not primarily embrace here a large class of persons, who, like the abolitionists, object to Southern claims touching fugitives, territories, slave states, etc., and who hold to *slave confinement*, etc. etc., but have a very different mind on the whole subject—different views, motives, and ends. Yet this, in general, is true of such persons. They are more or less open both to the influence and the charge of abolitionism as they do in a greater or less degree sympathize with its doctrines and its spirit. On this topic the characteristic difference is this: In proportion to his separation from fanatical anti-slavery the party will be apt to look out upon the interests of the world and seek to stay evil and do good; while the abolitionist, under the dominion of his too fierce fanaticism, will be more strongly prompted to look in upon slavery and the slaveholder, and by a cordon of free states drawn

close around, work to incarcerate, environ, and strangle the monsters.

1. *This measure of slave confinement upon a gigantic scale must ultimately destroy the liberties and hopes of the slave by preventing their natural development.* Supposing the South to enjoy in the future her ancient liberty of locomotion, and that the same privileges hereafter shall sustain the same ratio of increase, it is calculated that her colored population will amount to near fifty millions in 1960. This stupendous result! Who does not see that it must prove an enormous abortion, if you undertake to develop it within the geographical bounds prescribed? But tell me! Why have not these colored fellow-men at the South, as good a right to live, and grow, and flourish in the earth as any other people under heaven? Why are not their natural rights equal to those of any other branch of Adam's family? When God gave the products and liberties of the earth to man in the garden, did he not design that the man of color should have an equal share with the white man? When God commanded the race to increase and multiply and fill the earth, did he not address the one as certainly as the other? Simply for the color of his skin, my Northern friend, why should you cast a fellow-man from a gift and a privilege which God himself has made the common heritage of the race? Under his former auspices, for generations he has been steadily growing in a host of the richest natural gifts. He certainly has constantly improved in physical health, comeliness, and power; in intelligence, character, piety, happiness, and universal culture. He has certainly made steady progress from the beginning towards a development which may ultimately qualify him, every way, to take his full part in all the social responsibilities, dignities, and enjoyments of his race. Why will you cut down at a blow all these richest blessings and hopes of the

black man? After the God of Providence, through his Southern master, has done so much for him and brought him on so far from the very darkest and cruellest barbarism towards hopeful deliverance from his every native degradation—by your barbarous edict of slave imprisonment, oh, why would you tear him away from the bright hopes which have long been very slowly but very certainly dawning upon his future, and throw him back into a condition far more calamitous than that from which the slave-ship rescued him? My Northern brother, change your heart towards the black man. Love him warmly, as many a Southern man does; in his place, let him go out freely into all the earth, and increase, and multiply, and improve, and enjoy himself, as other men do; and go thou down and stand beside his master, your brother and neighbor, and kindly converse with him touching all those wholesome laws, institutions, and arrangements which may most happily develop all his faculties, rights, and interests through time to come; and give him the full enjoyment of his present happy opening for his own temporal and eternal good, and the elevation of his continent; and you will put your hand to one of the very noblest and largest works man ever undertook since he fell from the likeness in which God made him. Yes! Do this, and you will prove yourself a far more sincere and sensible friend of the bond and the free than your insufferably tyrannical edict of Southern impalement bids fair to make you.

2. But this abolition discipline of the master, by the eternal confinement of the slave, does not limit its malice to the lower class of natural rights. There is a sense in which it virtually strikes at human *life* itself with the most unsparing hand. The nature and objects of Southern society require that the whites should dwell amongst the blacks in equal if not superior numbers. This Northern project of

Southern impalement is responsible therefore for crowding within the present territorial limits of the South in the year 1960, an agricultural population of near one hundred millions of souls. Domesticate this enormous multitude of human beings upon the territory around which deistical anti-slavery would build such insurmountable walls, and the gloom and the havoc which, though not planned, must inevitably follow, who can depict? So dense a population in so hot a climate, cholera, yellow fever, and plague must mow them down by tens of thousands! Forced to go out and build their domiciles, and breathe the air along the sickest swamps of the country, climate fever must waste them fearfully through all the hot months of the summer; compelled to go forth and plant the arid sands and exhausted fields which cover half a hundred square miles in many portions of the land, what multitudes must starve to death for the lack of the common bread of life? The unprosperous condition of the master, and the darkening lot of the servant, must breed mutual discontent, and what ill-blood, insurrection, and murder, from time to time, must agonize and depopulate the universal region! In a word, this dark, malignant decree, whatever benign intentions may sustain it in many minds, must eventually roll forth one broad wave of desolation and destruction over the entire population of the district inclosed. Remember! In point of criminality, it matters not much whether I put a bullet through a man's heart and kill him instanter, or employ a month in gradually strangling an embryo ere it comes forth to breathe in this world of life! Look out now upon communities which the past and the present assure you do certainly possess all the capacities, surroundings, and generative power, under ordinary providence, to throw out upon earth a hundred millions of healthy, hopeful people in 1960. Move up and seize these nations! By confinement,

oppression, and strangulation, deliberately prevent the birth of this prodigious population ! Before God and man, is it not somewhat as though you had regularly set to work, upon just such a multitude, the necessary causes of their destruction ? And does it require you to stretch your imagination very far beyond the boundaries of reason to enrol the probable issues of this incarceration of the South amongst the most stupendous catastrophes that ever stained the records of humanity ? When poor Lopez was strapped hard and fast to the Spanish chair, and the executioner behind began to screw up the metallic girt about his throat, I almost wonder that the earth did not shriek out from beneath, when, in an instant, the blood, cut off from its return to the heart, rushed out to the extremities of the skin, blackened every pore of his face, blood-shot both his glaring eyes, and before a crowd of living men, put the poor wretch to a death that forcibly bereft him of nature's last relief, a groan or a struggle. Look ! my maddened friend of the North, look upon your worse than metallic throttle ! Have you not thrown it around the necks of the forthcoming generations of a whole family of civilized states ? By your own cruel, penal impalement may you not be near to turning the screw that shall *garotte* on this free soil of America scores of millions of your countrymen ? Is *this* a becoming work for the gallant friend of liberty and of the black man ? The most inhuman suffocation of one hundred and forty-six English prisoners in the Black Hole of Calcutta ! The pestilence, death, and putrefaction of thousands of African natives cruelly crowded between the decks of the slave-ship ! are terrible tragedies. But how narrow their dimensions ! How speedy their relief ! Ah, think ! In your great black dungeon of the South, when population shall become too dense for production, and labor and living too hard for

content, and hope can extract nothing but the blackness of darkness from the future, and starvation, and insurrection, and pestilence shall become the order of the day, and untold disasters shall agonize the souls and mow down the bodies of struggling generations, then shall be practically portrayed not the catastrophe which deistical anti-slavery malignantly set out to accomplish, but what would seem to be the legitimate result of that lack of philanthropy, of that unreflecting malignity which animates its persecution of the slaveholder.

We had seen that the fanatic would tread down the Constitutional rights of the slaveholder, and the august authority of the government. *Now*, we are assured that there is nothing too dear or sacred to be sacrificed to the demands of his inexorable will. The man of color, he whose patron he had assumed to be before the eyes of the world, he in whose defence he had drawn his sword and perilled his peace—even he—must suffer the loss of all, if vengeance upon the grand enemy calls for it. He must be thrown into a dungeon, cut off from God's primary gift to man of the liberties and blessings of the earth; bereft of the divine privilege of unrestrained propagation and universal progress; nor matters it much whether he be wasted from the face of the earth, so the fanatic's vengeance upon his enemy be glutted.

What, on earth, can safely confederate with such a principle? We have seen that there is no such *moral* character as can bind the fanatic to any course of procedure at variance with his special object; and now we observe that there is no interest or class of men which should or will be willing to trust either his justice or his mercy in a *social* union.

III.—*Finally, it destroys political structure.* In a republic, no union, no government. Without common consent,









